

# CHATHAM HOUSE

An Illustrated History of  
The Royal Institute of International Affairs



THE ROYAL INSTITUTE  
OF INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS

By William P. Litynski





# The Royal Institute of International Affairs: An Imperial Intrigue?



The Chatham House in London is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs

“THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (RIIA) is nothing but the Milner Group “writ large.” It was founded by the Group, has been consistently controlled by the Group, and to this day is the Milner Group in its widest aspect. It is the legitimate child of the Round Table organization, just as the latter was the legitimate child of the “Closer Union” movement organized in South Africa in 1907. All three of these organizations were formed by the same small group of persons, all three received their initial financial backing from Sir Abe Bailey, and all three used the same methods for working out and propagating their ideas (the so-called Round Table method of discussion groups plus a journal). This similarity is not an accident. The new organization was intended to be a wider aspect of the Milner Group, the plan being to influence the leaders of thought through *The Round Table* and to influence a wider group through the RIIA. The real founder of the Institute was Lionel Curtis, although this fact was concealed for many years and he was presented to the public as merely one among a number of founders. In more recent years, however, the fact that Curtis was the real founder of the Institute has been publicly stated by members of the Institute and by the Institute itself on many occasions, and never denied. One example will suffice. In the Annual Report of the Institute for 1942-1943 we read the following sentence: “When the Institute was founded through the inspiration of Mr. Lionel Curtis during the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919, those associated with him in laying the foundations were a group of comparatively young men and women.”

– Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, p. 182

“The Institute was organized at a joint conference of British and American experts at the Hotel Majestic on 30 May 1919. At the suggestion of Lord Robert Cecil, the chair was given to General Tasker Bliss of the American delegation. We have already indicated that the experts of the British delegation at the Peace Conference were almost exclusively from the Milner Group and Cecil Bloc. The American group of experts, “the Inquiry,” was manned almost as completely by persons from institutions (including universities) dominated by J. P. Morgan and Company. This was not an accident. Moreover, the Milner Group has always had very close relationships with the associates of J. P. Morgan and with the various branches of the Carnegie Trust. These relationships, which are merely examples of the closely knit ramifications of international financial capitalism, were probably based on the financial holdings controlled by the Milner Group through the Rhodes Trust. The term “international financier” can be applied with full justice to several members of the Milner Group inner circle, such as Brand, Hitchens, and above all, Milner himself. At the meeting at the Hotel Majestic, the British group included Lionel Curtis, Philip Kerr, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Eustace Percy, Sir Eyre Crowe, Sir Cecil Hurst, J. W. Headlam-Morley, Geoffrey Dawson, Harold Temperley, and G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. It was decided to found a permanent organization for the study of international affairs and to begin by writing a history of the Peace Conference. A committee was set up to supervise the writing of this work. It had Lord Meston as chairman, Lionel Curtis as secretary, and was financed by a gift of £2000 from Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company. This group picked Harold Temperley as editor of the work. It appeared in six large volumes in the years 1920-1924, under the auspices of the RIIA. The British organization was set up by a committee of which Lord Robert Cecil was chairman, Lionel Curtis was honorary secretary and the following were members: Lord Eustace Percy, J. A. C. (later Sir John) Tilley, Philip Noel-Baker, Clement Jones, Harold Temperley, A. L. Smith (classmate of Milner and Master of Balliol), George W. Prothero, and Geoffrey Dawson. This group drew up a constitution and made a list of prospective members. Lionel Curtis and Gathorne Hardy drew up the by-laws. The above description is based on the official history of the RIIA published by the Institute itself in 1937 and written by Stephen King-Hall.”

– Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, p. 182-183

“This point of view was supported by the second group, which was known in those days as the Round Table Group, and came later to be called, somewhat inaccurately, the Cliveden Set, after the country estate of Lord and Lady Astor. It included Lord Milner, Leopold Amery, and Edward Grigg (Lord Altrincham), as well as Lord Lothian, [Jan] Smuts, Lord Astor, Lord Brand (brother-in-law of Lady Astor and managing director of Lazard Brothers, the international bankers), Lionel Curtis, Geoffrey Dawson (editor of *The Times*), and their associates. This group wielded great influence because it controlled the Rhodes Trust, the Beit Trust, *The Times* of London, *The Observer*, the influential and highly anonymous quarterly review known as *The Round Table* (founded in 1910 with money supplied by Sir Abe Bailey and the Rhodes Trust, and with Lothian as editor), and it dominated the Royal Institute of International Affairs, called “Chatham House” (of which Sir Abe Bailey and the Astors were the chief financial supporters, while Lionel Curtis was the actual founder), the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, and All Souls College, Oxford.”

– Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 581

“The more moderate Round Table group, including Lionel Curtis, Leopold Amery (who was the shadow of Lord Milner), Lord Lothian, Lord Brand, and Lord Astor, sought to weaken the League of Nations and destroy all possibility of collective security in order to strengthen Germany in respect to both France and the Soviet Union, and above all to free Britain from Europe in order to build up an “Atlantic bloc” of Great Britain and the British Dominions, and the United States. They prepared the way for this “Union” through the Rhodes Scholarship organization (of which Lord Milner was the head in 1905-1925 and Lord Lothian was secretary in 1925-1940), through the Round Table groups (which had been set up in the United States, India, and the British Dominions in 1910-1917), through the Chatham House organization, and a Council on Foreign Relations in New York, as well as through “Unofficial Commonwealth Relations Conferences” held irregularly, and the Institutes of Pacific Relations set up in various countries as autonomous branches of the Royal Institutes of International Affairs. This influential group sought to change the League of Nations from an instrument of collective security to an international conference for “nonpolitical” matters like drug control or international postal services, to rebuild Germany as a buffer against the Soviet Union and a counterpoise to France, and to build up an Atlantic bloc of Britain, the Dominions, the United States, and, if possible, the Scandinavian countries.”

– Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 582





British Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne (left) appears with International Monetary Fund Managing Director Christine Lagarde during a speech at Chatham House, the headquarters of The Royal Institute of International Affairs, in London, United Kingdom on September 9, 2011. Osborne and Lagarde attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at The Grove hotel in Watford, England from June 6-9, 2013. (Photo: WPA Pool/Getty Images Europe)



Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen speaks at Chatham House in London on July 4, 2012. (Photo: [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-6F7538FA-1B10844C/natolive/photos\\_88913.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-6F7538FA-1B10844C/natolive/photos_88913.htm))





Hillary Clinton, former United States Secretary of State, answers questions from an audience at Chatham House in London, England on October 11, 2013. Chatham House is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.  
(Photo by Peter Macdiarmid/Getty Images)



# Chatham House History

Chatham House, also known as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is based in the heart of London. As a measure of its importance in the world of international relations, the name 'Chatham House' - the building - is now commonly used to refer to the organization.

The House has given its name to the famous [Chatham House Rule](#), first established here in 1927 and revised twice since. The Rule is used around the world to ensure free and open debate.

## Background



In 1919 British and American delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, under the leadership of Lionel Curtis, conceived the idea of an Anglo-American Institute of foreign affairs to study international problems with a view to preventing future wars. In the event, the British Institute of International Affairs was founded separately in London in July 1920 and received its Royal Charter in 1926 to become The Royal Institute of International Affairs. The American delegates developed the Council on Foreign Relations in New York as a sister institute. Both are now among the world's leading international affairs think-tanks.



The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) is an independent international affairs think-tank and membership organization. It is precluded by its Charter from expressing any institutional view or policy on any aspect of international affairs. It does not receive any statutory government funding and is not a government organization, although some government departments are corporate members of Chatham House and may fund specific projects.

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Based in [St James' Square in London](#), the listed building was home to three Prime Ministers (William Pitt the Elder, Edward Stanley and William Gladstone) before being gifted to what was then the Institute of International Affairs in 1923. The book, [Chatham House: Its History and Inhabitants](#), published in July 2004, is available to order.

(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/about/history/>)

# Chatham House Rule

The Chatham House Rule reads as follows:

**"When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed".**

The world-famous Chatham House Rule may be invoked at meetings to encourage openness and the sharing of information.

## EXPLANATION of the Rule

The Chatham House Rule originated at Chatham House with the aim of providing anonymity to speakers and to encourage openness and the sharing of information. It is now used throughout the world as an aid to free discussion. Meetings do not have to take place at Chatham House, or be organized by Chatham House, to be held under the Rule.

Meetings, events and discussions held at Chatham House are normally conducted 'on the record' with the Rule occasionally invoked at the speaker's request. In cases where the Rule is not considered sufficiently strict, an event may be held 'off the record'.

## FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS:

**Q. When was the Rule devised?**

**A.** In 1927 and refined in 1992 and 2002.

**Q. Should one refer to the Chatham House Rule or the Chatham House Rules?**

**A.** There is only one Rule.

**Q. What are the benefits of using the Rule?**

**A.** It allows people to speak as individuals, and to express views that may not be those of their organizations, and therefore it encourages free discussion. People usually feel more relaxed if they don't have to worry about their reputation or the implications if they are publicly quoted.

**Q. How is the Rule enforced?**

**A.** Chatham House can take disciplinary action against one of its members who breaks the Rule. Not all organizations that use the Rule have sanctions. The Rule then depends for its success on being seen as morally binding.

**Q. Is the Rule used for all meetings at Chatham House?**

**A.** Not often for [Members Events](#); more frequently for smaller research meetings, for example where work in progress is discussed or when subject matter is politically sensitive. Most [Chatham House conferences](#) are under the Rule.

**Q. Who uses the Rule these days?**

**A.** It is widely used in the English-speaking world - by local government and commercial organizations as well as research organizations.

(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/about/chathamhouserule/>)



# CHATHAM HOUSE

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The governance of Chatham House is overseen by its Council.

The Council is elected by members of Chatham House, in a secret ballot. Council members serve for three years with the possibility of re-election for a further three years. There are three Committees of Council with delegated authority; the Executive Committee, the Finance Committee and the Investment Committee.

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(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/about/council/>)

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The Panel of Senior Advisers was founded in 2008 to provide Chatham House with an experienced sounding board for our policy conclusions and help communicate our ideas at the highest levels in the UK and abroad.

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(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/about/psa/>)



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Lady Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, exits Chatham House in London on March 3, 2010.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/12987700723/>)





President Ronald Reagan gives a speech to members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs at the Guildhall in London, United Kingdom on June 3, 1988. (Photo: Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Photo C47546-14)



Hillary Clinton, former United States Secretary of State, answers questions from an audience at Chatham House in London, England on October 11, 2013. Chatham House is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (Photo by Peter Macdiarmid/[Getty Images](#))





Lakhdar Brahimi (left) and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter (right) attend a meeting at the Chatham House in London on July 24, 2013. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/9361815919/>)



Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State, attends a meeting at the Chatham House in London on April 19, 2013. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8663275224/>)





Robert E. Rubin, the former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury and former partner of Goldman Sachs bank in New York City, speaks at Chatham House in London on May 14, 2013. The title of the meeting was “Critical Economic Challenges and Whether Democracies Can Meet Them”. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8738198855/>)



Professor Joseph S. Nye, the North American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, speaks at Chatham House in London on May 8, 2013. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8720649938/>)





John R. Bolton, the former U.S. Representative to the United Nations under President George W. Bush, speaks at Chatham House in London on January 21, 2013. The title of the meeting was “Foreign Policy Challenges for the Obama Administration”. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8401311507/>)



General Raymond T Odierno, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, speaks at Chatham House in London on June 6, 2012. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/7160117619/>)





British Member of Parliament David Miliband (left), former United States Senator George Mitchell (center), and Dr. Robin Niblett participate in a meeting at Chatham House in London on October 17, 2011. The title of the meeting was “The Middle East in the 21st Century: A Conversation with David Miliband and George Mitchell”.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/6257471874/>)



John Major, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, speaks at Chatham House in London on November 10, 2011. The title of the meeting was: “America, Britain and Europe: An Evolving Relationship”.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/6357734563/>)



Robert S. Mueller III, Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) [United States of America], speaks at Chatham House in London on Monday, April 7, 2008. Mueller gave a speech entitled Global Terrorism Today and the Challenges of Tomorrow. ([Associated Press/Kirsty Wigglesworth](#))



United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon delivers a speech at Chatham House in London on July 11, 2007. Ban Ki-Moon is making his first official visit to Britain since he replaced Kofi Annan as the United Nations chief at the start of this year. ([Associated Press/Matt Dunham](#))





President of the European Central Bank Jean-Claude Trichet gives a lecture entitled "Central banks and the public: the importance of communication" at Chatham House in London on November 18, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



Rwanda's President Paul Kagame delivers a speech on "Evolution of Conflict: Prospects for Peace and Development in Africa" at Chatham House in London on December 6, 2006. (Photo: [Government of Rwanda](#))



Yang Jiechi, the Chinese Communist Minister of Foreign Affairs, addresses guests at Chatham House in central London on December 5, 2007. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Former President of Iran Mohammad Khatami gives a press conference at Chatham House in London on November 1, 2006. Khatami faced noisy protests from pro-democracy groups today ahead of an address to a foreign affairs think-tank in London. More than 100 demonstrators gathered outside Chatham House in central London, protesting against the cleric's record during his time in office between 1997 and 2005. ([Leon Neal/AFP/Getty Images](#))





General Pervez Musharraf, former President of Pakistan (2001-2008), delivers a speech at Chatham House in London on February 15, 2010. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/4362273630/>)



Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia, delivers a speech at Chatham House in London on February 17, 2010. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/4366866961/>)





Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, President of the Federal Republic of Somalia, speaks at Chatham House in London on February 4, 2013. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8446438427/>)



Armando Guebuza, President of Mozambique, speaks at Chatham House in London on May 9, 2012. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/7210331406/>)





Nobel Peace Prize recipient and longtime Burmese political prisoner Aung San Suu Kyi, chairman of the National League for Democracy (NLD), departs Chatham House in London on June 22, 2012.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/7418976298/>)



King Abdullah of Jordan (left) appears with Robin Niblett at Chatham House in London on November 16, 2011.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/6436574389/>)





President of Tunisia Moncef Marzouki speaks at the Chatham House in London on November 26, 2012.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8224075292/>)



Nick Clegg, Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain speaks at the Chatham House in London on November 1, 2012.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8144370647/>)



President of Turkey Abdullah Gül delivers a speech during the Chatham House Prize 2010 event held in London on November 9, 2010. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/6024767021/>)





John Dramani Mahama, President of the Republic of Ghana, delivers a speech at Chatham House in London on June 14, 2013.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/9041896033/sizes//in/photostream/>)



Tendai Biti, Minister of Finance of Zimbabwe, delivers a speech at Chatham House in London on April 24, 2013.  
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8678684498/>)





Roger Gifford, Lord Mayor of London, delivers a speech during a meeting titled "Opportunities for Financial Services in Nigeria, Angola and Ghana" held at Chatham House in London on June 18, 2013.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/9075704258/>)



Simon Collis, British Ambassador to Iraq, delivers a speech at the Chatham House in London on March 19, 2013.

(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8572373248/>)





Member of Parliament David Cameron (left), Leader of the Conservative Party and Leader of the Opposition, appears with Pauline Neville-Jones, Liam Fox and Chris Grayling at Chatham House in London on January 15, 2010. David Cameron became the Prime Minister of Great Britain beginning on May 11, 2010. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/4276446062/>)



Member of Parliament David Cameron (left), Leader of the Conservative Party, speaks at Chatham House in London on January 15, 2010. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/4276445680/>)





Michael Chertoff (left), former U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security, speaks at Chatham House in London on September 5, 2011. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/6124321264/in/photostream/>)



Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter, Director of U.S. State Department Policy Planning Staff, discusses The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), for which she served as Executive Director, at Chatham House in London on Friday, January 21, 2010. Dr. Slaughter is the author of the book *A New World Order* and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs's sister organization. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/5374627969/>)





Marco Rubio (right), a United States Senator representing Florida, appears at Chatham House in London on December 3, 2013.



Marco Rubio, a United States Senator representing Florida, appears at Chatham House in London on December 3, 2013.





United States Army Brigadier General Mark Martins, a Chief Prosecutor of the U.S. Military Commission, attends a meeting on "The Use of Military Commissions for Trials of Al-Qaeda and Associated Forces" held at Chatham House in London on September 28, 2012. United States Army Brigadier General Mark Martins attended Oxford University on a Rhodes Scholarship. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8066446760/in/photostream/>)



Hitoshi Tanaka, Chairman of The Japan Research Institute and former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan (2002-2005), speaks at Chatham House in London on September 12, 2012. Hitoshi Tanaka is a member of the Trilateral Commission. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8066513185/>)





European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso delivers a speech at Chatham House. (Photo: Chatham House 2007 Annual Review)



MAY 2002  
**Mikhail Gorbachev**  
Chose Chatham House to make his only speech during a brief visit to London.



MARCH 2003  
**The Hon John R Bolton**  
Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, US. Addressed delegates at the defence conference.

(Left and right photos: Chatham House 2003 Annual Report)



JANUARY 2003  
**President Bashar al-Assad**  
President of Syria. Attended a private meeting hosted by the Middle East Programme.



JANUARY 2003  
**The Rt Hon Gordon Brown MP**  
Chancellor of the Exchequer. Launched an ambitious new scheme to double the funds available to developing countries for the next 15 years, as part of the sustainable development conference.



FEBRUARY 2003  
**HE Dr Kamal Kharazmi**  
Iranian Foreign Minister. Attended a meeting at Chatham House hosted by the Middle East Programme.

(Source: Chatham House 2003 Annual Report)

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL  
OF THE  
ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
ON THE WORK OF THE YEAR  
ENDED 30 JUNE 1949

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*Introduction*

On 30 May 1919 certain members of the British and United States delegations to the Peace Conference of Paris met at the Hotel Majestic in Paris and decided to create an Institute of International Affairs. This was the foundation of the British, later the Royal, Institute of International Affairs and its sister body in the United States, the Council on Foreign Relations.

War having prevented the celebration of the coming of age of the Institute or its twenty-fifth Anniversary, the Council decided to mark the thirtieth Anniversary by a Banquet, which by the courtesy of the Corporation of the City of London was held in Guildhall, in the City of London, on 7 July 1949.

H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh graciously accepted an invitation to be present and in the unavoidable absence of Viscount Astor, Chairman of the Council, the Chair was taken by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, a President of the Institute, who himself was present at the inaugural meeting in Paris and took a leading part in the founding of the Institute.

In opening the proceedings at the Banquet Lord Cecil read the following message which had been sent by the Chairman to H.M. The King as Patron:

On the occasion of the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Institute during the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919, we, the Officers, Councillors, and Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, beg to address to Your Majesty our Patron our dutiful greetings, and to assure Your Majesty that we shall spare no effort to promote a true knowledge and understanding of the manifold problems of international affairs and thus make our contribution, within the terms of our Royal Charter, to the welfare of our country and to the establishment of lasting peace and concord between the peoples of the world.

Lord Cecil also read the following reply from His Majesty:

Please convey to all Members of the Institute assembled at your anniversary banquet tomorrow my sincere thanks for their kind and loyal message. I wish the Institute all success in the continuance of its work which it has now carried on with such good results over a period of thirty years.



ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
COUNCIL  
1951-1952

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
Chatham House  
St James's Square, London, S.W.1

Royal Institute of International Affairs and its sister organization

- Council on Foreign Relations (United States of America) – founded on July 29, 1921
- Canadian Institute of International Affairs – founded on 1 January 1928
- Australian Institute of International Affairs – founded on 20 February 1933
- New Zealand Institute of International Affairs – founded on 17 July 1931
- South African Institute of International Affairs – founded on 26 May 1934
- Indian Council of World Affairs – founded on 21 November 1943
- Pakistan Institute of International Affairs – founded on 30 March 1948

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions.

The Institute, as such, is precluded by its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. Any opinions expressed in this Report on such subjects are not, therefore, the views of the Institute.

The aims and objects for which the Institute was established and incorporated are set out in its Charter as follows:

To advance the sciences of international politics, economics, and jurisprudence, and the study, classification, and development of the literature of these subjects.

To provide and maintain means of information upon international questions and promote the study and investigation of international questions by means of lectures and discussions and by the preparation and publication of books, records, reports, or other works, or otherwise as may seem desirable.

Generally to encourage and facilitate the study of international questions and to promote the exchange of information, knowledge, and thought on international affairs and the understanding of the circumstances, conditions, and views of nations and peoples, and to do all things necessary or expedient for the proper and effective carrying out of the objects aforesaid.

To encourage and facilitate the formation of branches and committees throughout Our Dominions.

The means through which the Institute endeavours to fulfil its purposes are the organization of research into international problems by individual scholars and by study groups composed of experts and others representing diverse points of view, the publication of these researches, the arrangement of discussions on matters of current interest, the collection and dissemination of authoritative information, and the equipment and maintenance of a reference library on international affairs.



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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

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THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, O.M., C.H., M.P.  
LIONEL CURTIS, C.H.  
THE RIGHT HON. ANTHONY EDEN, M.C., M.P.  
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.B.E.

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THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF CEYLON  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NEW ZEALAND  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PAKISTAN  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CEYLON  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA

### *Founders*

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THE HON. M. L. ASTOR (1943)  
THE HON. J. J. ASTOR, M.P. (1943)

## *The Council*

1951-52

SIR CLEMENT JONES, C.B. (*Chairman*)  
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR IAN JACOB, K.B.E., C.B. (*Vice-Chairman*)  
SIR ALAN RAE SMITH, K.B.E. (*Honorary Treasurer*)  
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MARSHAL OF THE R.A.F. VISCOUNT PORTAL OF HUNGERFORD,  
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†THE RIGHT HON. H. GRAHAM WHITE

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

THE RIGHT HON. KENNETH YOUNGER, M.P.

*Director General:* IVISON S. MACADAM, C.B.E., M.V.O.

*Secretary:* IAN GREY

\* Co-opted under By-Law 38 during the year.

† Elected under By-Law 39.

‡ Resigned during the year.



at the School, was this year delivered by Dr James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, who spoke on *Anglo-American Relations in the Atomic Age*. The lecture was delivered at the London School of Economics on 17 March 1952 and Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders was in the Chair. It was published in book form by the Oxford University Press in May 1952.

The Director General visited the United States in the autumn of 1951 to attend to the affairs of the New York Publications Office, which is doing excellent work in making the Institute's publications better known in the United States. While there, he discussed a number of proposals with the officers of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation and discussed with the Council on Foreign Relations the plans for the study of Anglo-American Relations referred to above.

On the invitation of the Carnegie Corporation, Lord Hailey spent some weeks in the United States in the spring of 1952, discussing African problems with several of the American specialists in this field. Plans are now being made for the revision by Lord Hailey of *An African Survey*, which he first produced in 1938 with the generous financial aid of the Carnegie Corporation, and which has been out of print for some time, after running through three printings totalling more than 10,000 copies.

On 7 March 1952, the eightieth birthday of Lionel Curtis, to whom Chatham House owes its foundation, the Council, on behalf of the Members and staff of the Institute, sent him the following message:

This happy occasion gives the Royal Institute of International Affairs the rare pleasure, from which it is normally debarred by its constitution, of expressing a corporate conviction. Among the many and sometimes controversial achievements of your career, there is one on which the united voice of Chatham House is equally that of each individual member.

In a technical sense, we have many Founders, to all of whom we are profoundly grateful. But we all recognize in you our Founder in a special and unique sense—as the man to whose labour and inspiration our Institute owes its actual existence. It was to you that the vision came which brought it to birth, it was you, more than anyone, who nursed, directed, and fed it in its infancy, and who, not content with that, exacted, with that idealistic ruthlessness which is your salient characteristic, contributions to its sustenance from every potential benefactor with whom you came in contact or could otherwise waylay. Without you, it is improbable that we could have been born, and certain that we should never have progressed from one room in a Westminster back-street to the spacious amenities of Chatham House.

You are our father, but, more than this, the seed which you sowed has borne fruit far beyond the limits of this building or this country. It has spread not only to all parts of the British Commonwealth, but to many other parts of the world, where Institutes for the study of International Affairs gratefully regard you as the *fons et origo* of their activities.

To your intimate friends you have long been known as 'the prophet'. We are told on high authority that no prophet is honoured in his own country. But in

PATRON  
His Majesty The King.

PRESIDENTS  
THE RIGHT HON. EARL BALDWIN OF BERYDLEY, K.G., F.R.S.  
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, K.C.  
THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, O.M., M.P.  
THE RIGHT HON. J. R. CLYNN, M.P.

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THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA.  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND.  
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THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA.  
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THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR IRELAND.  
\*THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA.  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

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THE LATE MRS. R. W. LEONARD (1923).  
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VISCOUNT ASTOR (1936).  
SIR HENRY PRICE (1936).  
SIR JULIEN CAHN, BART. (1936).  
G. M. GARCIA (1939).

COUNCIL  
1939-1940

VISCOUNT ASTOR (*Chairman*).  
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\*C. I. C. BOBAGUT.  
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G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY, M.C.  
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SIR CAMPBELL STUART, G.C.M.G., K.B.E.  
\*JOHN WATSON, W.S.  
\*E. W. WATT.  
F. L. WOODWARD.  
MRS. BARBARA WOOTTON.  
*Acting Secretary*—Miss MARGARET CREEVE, O.B.E.

\* Co-opted under Bye-Law 38.  
† Resigned during the year.



## *Patron*

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

## *Presidents*

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THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, K.C.  
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LIONEL CURTIS  
THE RIGHT HON. ANTHONY EDEN, M.C., M.P.  
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.B.E.

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THE VICEROY OF INDIA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

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THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NEW ZEALAND  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR IRELAND  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

## *Founders*

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# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

1964-65

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THE RIGHT HON. EARL OF AVON, K.G., M.C.  
THE RIGHT HON. SIR WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, K.G., O.M., C.H., M.P. (Died January 1965)

*Honorary Presidents*

PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM  
AND THE OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES

*Honorary Vice-Presidents*

HIGH COMMISSIONERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES

*Founders Under By-Law 15*

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SIR STANLEY UNWIN, LL.D. (1957)

# *The Council*

1964-65

LORD STRANG, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.B.E. (*Chairman*)  
AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM ELLIOT, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.B.E., D.F.C.  
(*Vice-Chairman*)  
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## Obituary

- ABEL, Deryck  
ABRAHAM, Major G. H. F.  
ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH, The Rt.  
Hon. The Earl  
ALEXANDER, J. N. B.  
AMES, W. M.  
ASTOR, Nancy Viscountess  
BROOMAN-WHITE, R.  
BRUNKSILL, Major-General Gerald  
BUXTON, D. A. J.  
CAMPBELL, Sir Gerald  
CHAMBERS, Frank P.  
CHURCHILL, The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston  
COATMAN, J.  
CROWDY-THORNHILL, Dame Rachel  
DAVIES, His Honour Sir David  
D'EGVILLE, Sir Howard  
DIACK, P. J.  
FRASER, W. Lionel  
GANNON, E. D.  
GARROD, Air Chief Marshal Sir Guy  
GILBEY, A. S.  
GOODMAN, A. J.  
GRIGG, The Rt. Hon. Sir James  
HAMMERSLEY, S. S.  
HAY, Sir John  
HEAD, H. N.  
HERTZ, Dr F. O.  
HEYWOOD-DOVE, Mrs Dorothy E.  
HIGGINS, Mrs Joan E. C.  
JONES, The Rt. Hon. Arthur Creech  
KIRKMAN, Major-General J. M.  
KNOX, Major MacGregor  
LANDSBERG, Major H. V.  
LENGYEL, Professor S. J.  
MACRAE SIMPSON, J.  
MALONE, Lieut.-Colonel Cecil L'Estrange  
MARKS OF BROUGHTON, The Lord  
MARGAI, Sir Milton  
MATHER, R.  
MCALLISTER, Gilbert  
MOMTCHILOFF, Nicholas  
MOUSLEY, Edward  
MUMFORD, V. C.  
NEHRU, Pandit Jawaharlal  
OPPENHEIM, Lady  
PURCELL, Dr Victor  
RICHMOND, Lady  
RICHTER, F. J. P.  
ROBERTS, Mrs M. E.  
RODYK, A. H. B.  
SINGER, Mrs C.  
SLATER, Miss Muriel A.  
SPENCER, Sir Henry  
STILL, Brigadier G. B.  
STOKES, Robert  
VAN MOPPE, M. L.  
WHITE, The Rt. Hon. H. Graham  
WHITFIELD, Mrs George  
YATES, F. R.

the Polish Institute of International Affairs, which sent four delegates. Professor Ludvik Gelberg, representing the Polish Institute, visited Chatham House in December 1947.

### *Sweden*

There has been exchange of correspondence, largely over publication with the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Medborgarhuset Stockholm). Dr Brita Skottsberg resigned from the post of Director of the Swedish Institute, being succeeded by Lennart Hirschfeldt.

### *Switzerland*

Relations have been maintained with the Swiss Institute of International Studies (Kreuzbühlstrasse 15, Zurich), Director: Dr Ed. Fueter, the activities of which are akin to those of Chatham House, and whose annual report shows a comprehensive programme of research and meetings. A notable feature of the Swiss Institute is the America-Europe Section and the priority which the Institute has given to the study of American-European relations.

### *U.S.A.*

Visitors from the Council on Foreign Relations (58 East 68th Street, New York) have included John Foster Dulles (who addressed a meeting at the Institute in December 1947), Allen W. Dulles, President of the Council, Isaiah Bowman, Professor Percy W. Bidwell, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, George S. Franklin, and William Diebold, Junior.

Reference has already been made in this Report to the death, on 1 February 1948, of Thomas W. Lamont, one of the earliest supporters of Chatham House and a staunch friend of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The American Council of the I.P.R. sent a strong delegation to the 10th I.P.R. Conference, headed by Huntington Gilchrist, now Chairman of the Pacific Council. Chatham House was also glad to welcome Dr Norman S. Buchanan and Dr Roger Evans of the Rockefeller Foundation, who attended the Conference as observers. Huntington Gilchrist also visited Chatham House in June 1948, and, as Chairman of the Pacific Council, discussed I.P.R. matters with the Institute.

Malcolm Davis, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, visited Chatham House in February 1948, and Pendleton Herring, Director of the Social Sciences Research Council and formerly of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, had discussions at Chatham House in April 1948. Whitney Shepardson, Director of the Dominions and Colonies Fund of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, also spent some time at the Institute while on a visit to London in May and June 1948.



In the first few weeks after war broke out the librarian left at Chatham House was fully occupied in sorting out and tidying the sections of the Library left behind, but as soon as possible the Library was reopened. In November 1939 a nucleus of the administrative staff and part of the Information Department were re-established in Chatham House and meetings were started there again in January.

Throughout the winter the Acting Secretary and other members of the administrative staff of the Institute divided their time between the requirements of the special organisation and the developing activities at Chatham House, until in March 1940 the ordinary work of the Institute had so largely recovered that it was decided to bring it back to London. Mr. H. B. Moore was appointed Administrative Officer of the F.R.P.S., and the Acting Secretary of the Institute and the members of the regular staff concerned with the Institute's ordinary work returned to London on March 30th.

Since no meetings were held in London during the usual autumn session, October to December 1939, meetings have this year been carried on through July, August, and September, when meetings are not usually held. An account of these has been included in this Report, since, by making up for the gap last autumn, they make it possible for the Council to present a more complete year of activity.

With the aid of the Rockefeller Research Grant and a generous grant for research into problems of post-war settlement received from the York Trust in November 1939, the Institute's programme of research has been expanded and a useful list of studies is in progress under the direction of Sir John Hope Simpson. The Council is deeply indebted to the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation for their continued support and to the York Trust for the grant which, in addition to providing for a series of studies, has made possible the appointment of so distinguished an authority to direct the work.

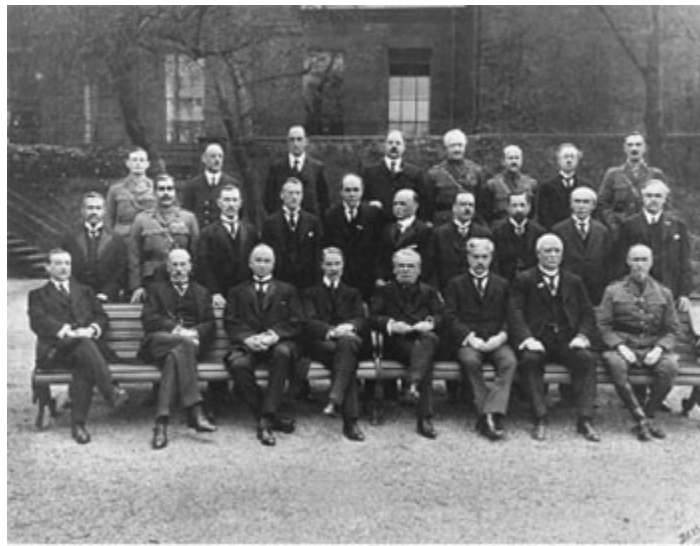
While some scholars were obliged to suspend work on the studies they had undertaken for Chatham House in the face of new obligations arising out of the war, other authorities have been found to continue the current research work of the Institute, and in most cases it is hoped that the earlier studies may be completed after the war. The Study Group work of the Institute is the only part of the general activities to have been completely abandoned since the war, for it was impossible to expect members, busy in the ordinary way, to give their time in view of the heavy

additional work that fell upon them when war broke out. It is hoped that this part of the Institute's work may be revived, even if only in a modified way, in the near future.

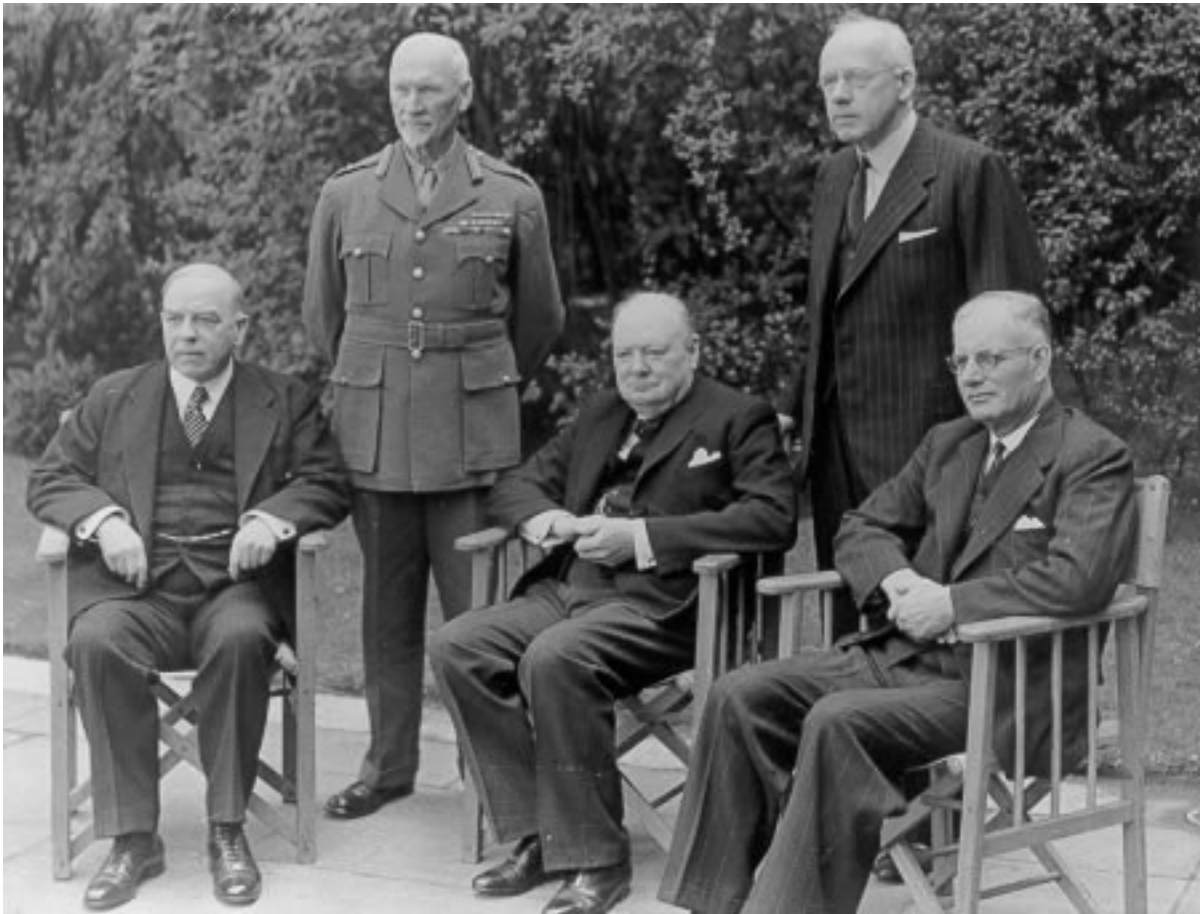
It was to meet the need for the exchange of ideas and information on current problems previously provided by study groups and meetings that the Council last November decided to print the *World Order Papers*. An Advisory Study Group on World Order had been established in the summer of 1939 and, since meetings proved difficult, began to circulate and comment upon memoranda prepared by themselves. This procedure could, the Council felt, be usefully extended to a wider circle; next to winning the war, the future ordering of the world was the question uppermost in men's minds and one on which there was much loose thinking. A series of studies by eminent authorities was accordingly planned. A collection of introductory papers in this series has already been sent to members of Chatham House and its Branches and to the affiliated Institutes overseas with the suggestion that comments and criticisms should be returned to Chatham House.

At the same time, the Council appointed a group, subsequently designated as the "Steering Committee on International Order", to advise and assist in the examination of the problems of European Settlement by the various methods of study employed by Chatham House, and particularly to keep in touch with the work of outside groups elsewhere in Great Britain and overseas and to act as a focus for the exchange of views and memoranda.

The appointment of this group was especially important since, in the early months of the war, when the energies of many were yet unabsorbed in the war effort, there was a rush of intense interest in post-war questions fostered by realisation of the cost of general unpreparedness in the last peace settlement. A number of groups, study circles and lecture courses were started in different parts of the country and applications for assistance came to Chatham House from all sides. Growing preoccupation in the war effort, and probably more than all the collapse of France, which seemed to remove the basis of so much thinking on post-war questions, stayed these developments during the summer months, but there are indications of reviving interest, and demands for assistance are being received once more. Most recent requests have been for assistance in the study of specific countries and problems, which augurs a sane appreciation of the need for a sure knowledge of the background before advancing to the more complicated problems of the post-war period. An increasing



Sir Maurice Hankey is shown here in civilian clothing, top row center, with the Imperial War Cabinet of 1917-1918. Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden is seated beside British Prime Minister Lloyd George (front row, third and fourth from left respectively). At the far right of the same row is the South African General Jan Christian Smuts, a key proponent of liberal internationalism and a champion of the soon-to-be-established League of Nations. David Lloyd George was a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.



The Dominion Prime Ministers meet in London in 1944. Standing from left to right: Jan Christian Smuts (Prime Minister of South Africa) and Peter Fraser (Prime Minister of New Zealand). Sitting from left to right: W. McKenzie-King (Prime Minister of Canada), Winston Churchill (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), and John Curtin (Prime Minister of Australia). All five men served as honorary presidents of the Royal Institute of International Affairs during World War II.



Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, a member of Skull & Bones, shakes hands with British Ambassador to the United States the Marquess of Lothian (Philip H. Kerr), a member of Alfred Milner's Kindergarten, on November 28, 1939. MacLeish was the founder of UNESCO; Kerr was the Secretary of Rhodes Trust at Oxford University (1925-1939).



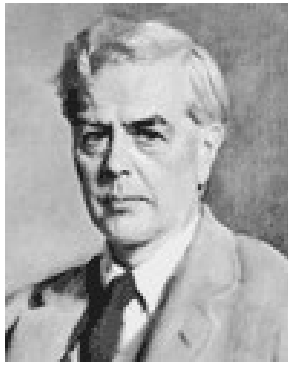
The Chatham House in London, headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs



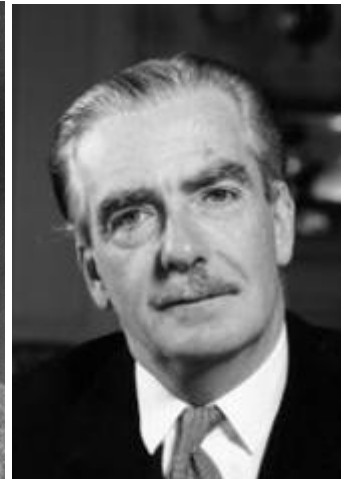
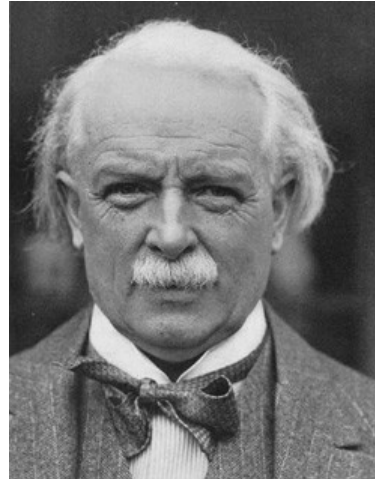


The Royal Institute of International Affairs is located at Chatham House, 10 St James's Square, London. Chatham House is located near the Buckingham Palace and the Piccadilly Circus subway (tube) station.

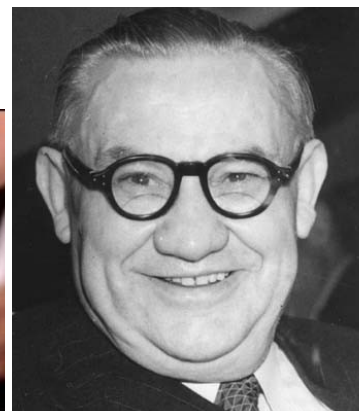
# Notable Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs



King George VI, Viscount Astor, Lionel Curtis, Sir Abe Bailey, Queen Elizabeth II



Clement Attlee, Winston S. Churchill, David Lloyd George, Anthony Eden

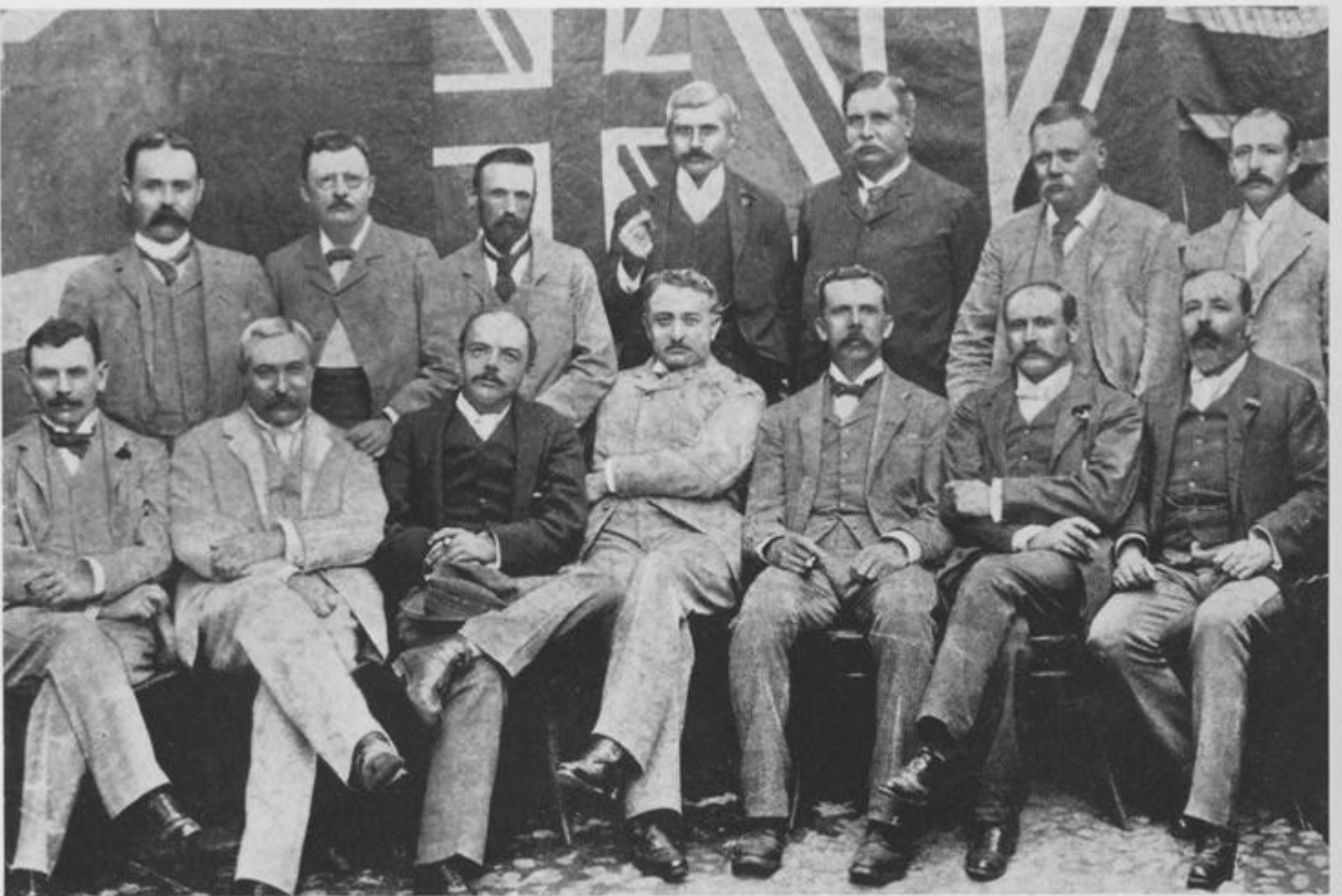


Herbert Samuel, Robert Cecil, Denis Healey, Ernest Bevin



# THE ROUND TABLE:

## Cecil Rhodes & His Vaunted “Afrika Korps”



Kimberley notables of 1894. Seated, from left to right, Sir Richard Solomon, D. J. Haarhoff, Sir Starr Jameson, Cecil Rhodes, F. Newton, H. Robinow, and C. E. Nind. Standing, from left to right, R. Harris, Mr. Craven, G. W. Compton, Sir H. Gould Adams, Gardner Williams, Sir J. H. Lange, and Col. Sir David Harris.

Above: Cecil Rhodes, who established the diamond corporation DeBeers and founded the Rhodes Scholarship, is flanked by the flags of the apartheid states of South Africa (left) and Rhodesia (right).

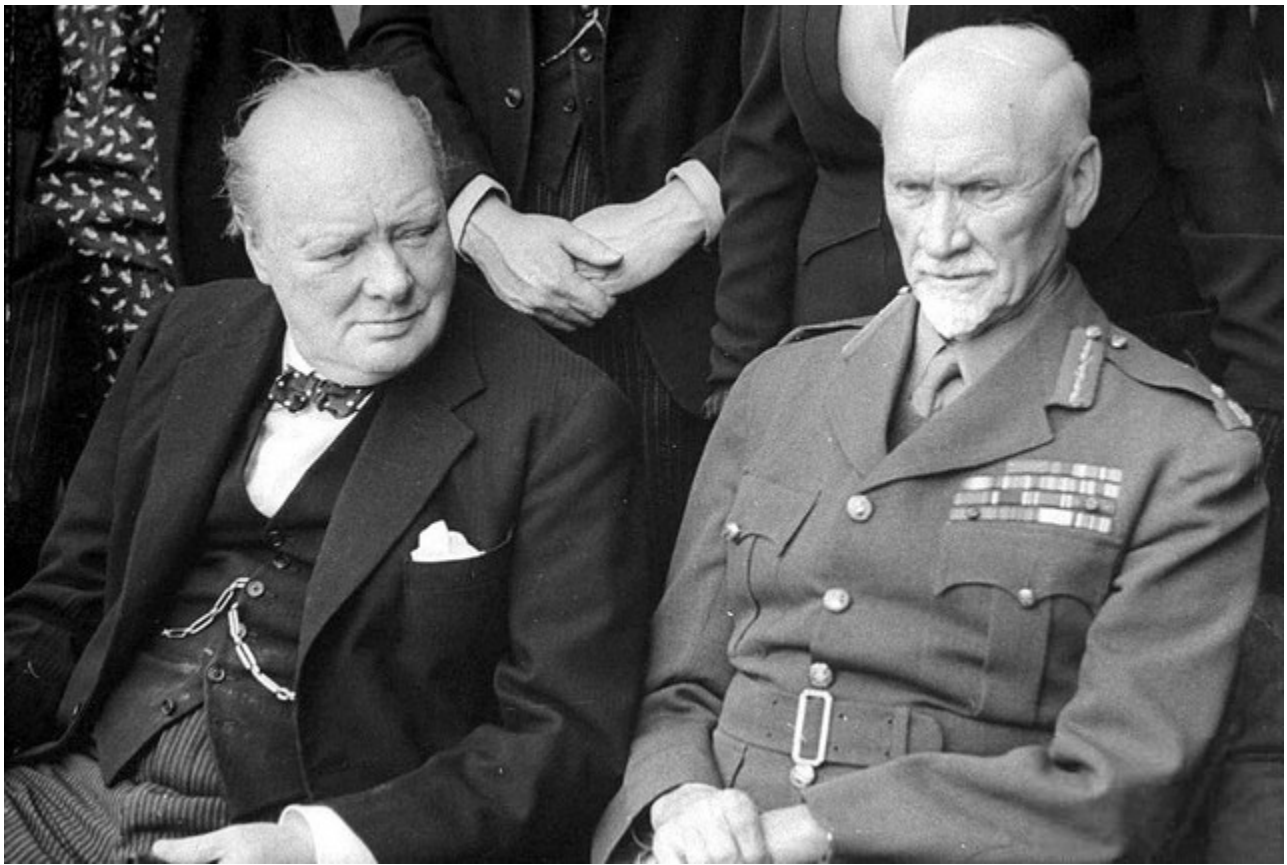


“[Lord Alfred] Milner took over the two defeated Boer republics and administered them as occupied territory until 1905, using a civil service of young men recruited for the purpose. This group, known as “Milner’s Kindergarten,” reorganized the government and administration of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony and played a major role in South African life generally. When Milner left public in 1905 to devote himself to international finance and the Rhodes enterprises, Lord Selborne, his successor as high commissioner, took over the Kindergarten and continued to use it. In 1906 a new Liberal government in London granted self-government to the two Boer states. The Kindergarten spent the next four years in a successful effort to create a South African Federation.” – Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 138

“As soon as South Africa was united in 1910, the Kindergarten returned to London to try to federate the whole empire by the same methods. They were in a hurry to achieve this before the war with Germany which they believed to be approaching. With Abe Bailey money they founded *The Round Table* under Kerr’s (Lothian’s) editorship, met in formal conclaves presided over by Milner to decide the fate of the empire, and recruited new members to their group, chiefly from New College, of which Milner was a fellow. The new recruits included a historian, F. S. Oliver, (Sir) Alfred Zimmern, (Sir) Reginald Coupland, Lord Lovat, and Waldorf (Lord) Astor. Curtis and others were sent around the world to organize Round Table groups in the chief British dependencies. For several years (1910-1916) the Round Table groups worked desperately trying to find an acceptable formula for federating the empire. Three books and many articles emerged from these discussions, but gradually it became clear that federation was not acceptable to the English-speaking dependencies. Gradually, it was decided to dissolve all formal bonds between these dependencies, except, perhaps, allegiance to the Crown, and depend on the common outlook of Englishmen to keep the empire together. This involved changing the name “British Empire” to “Commonwealth of Nations,” as in the title of Curtis’s book of 1916, giving the chief dependencies, including India and Ireland, their complete independence (but gradually and by free gift rather than under duress), working to bring the United States more closely into this same orientation, and seeking to solidify the intangible links of sentiment by propaganda among financial, educational, and political leaders in each country.” Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 144



Jan Christiaan Smuts (left), the Prime Minister of South Africa, appears with King George VI of Great Britain on a golf course. ([http://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%AAer:Smuts\\_en\\_George.jpg](http://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%AAer:Smuts_en_George.jpg))



Winston Churchill (left, Prime Minister of Great Britain) appears with Jan Christiaan Smuts (right, Prime Minister of South Africa) in London in April 1945. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hilton-t/4616092624/>)



Jan Christiaan Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, rides in an open motorcade in Cape Town, South Africa in 1948. (Photo: [http://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%AAer:Smuts\\_Kaapstad\\_1948.jpg](http://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%AAer:Smuts_Kaapstad_1948.jpg))



# “Confession of Faith”

## An essay written by Cecil Rhodes, 1877

*Rhodes originally wrote this on June 2, 1877, in Oxford. Later, that year in Kimberley [South Africa], he made some additions and changes. What follows is that amended statement. The spelling and grammar errors were in the original.*

It often strikes a man to inquire what is the chief good in life; to one the thought comes that it is a happy marriage, to another great wealth, and as each seizes on his idea, for that he more or less works for the rest of his existence. To myself thinking over the same question the wish came to render myself useful to my country. I then asked myself how could I and after reviewing the various methods I have felt that at the present day we are actually limiting our children and perhaps bringing into the world half the human beings we might owing to the lack of country for them to inhabit that if we had retained America there would at this moment be millions more of English living. I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence, look again at the extra employment a new country added to our dominions gives. I contend that every acre added to our territory means in the future birth to some more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to this the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars, at this moment had we not lost America I believe we could have stopped the Russian-Turkish war by merely refusing money and supplies. Having these ideas what scheme could we think of to forward this object. I look into history and I read the story of the Jesuits I see what they were able to do in a bad cause and I might say under bad leaders.

At the present day I become a member of the Masonic order I see the wealth and power they possess the influence they hold and I think over their ceremonies and I wonder that a large body of men can devote themselves to what at times appear the most ridiculous and absurd rites without an object and without an end.

The idea gleaming and dancing before ones eyes like a will-of-the-wisp at last frames itself into a plan. Why should we not form a secret society with but one object the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule for the recovery of the United States for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire. What a dream, but yet it is probable, it is possible. I once heard it argued by a fellow in my own college, I am sorry to own it by an Englishman, that it was good thing for us that we have lost the United States. There are some subjects on which there can be no arguments, and to an Englishman this is one of them, but even from an American's point of view just picture what they have lost, look at their government, are not the frauds that yearly come before the public view a disgrace to any country and especially their's which is the finest in the world. Would they have occurred had they remained under English rule great as they have become how infinitely greater they would have been with the softening and elevating influences of English rule, think of those countless 000's of Englishmen that during the last 100 years would have crossed the Atlantic and settled and populated the United States. Would they have not made without any prejudice a finer country of it than the low class Irish and German emigrants? All this we have lost and that country loses owing to whom? Owing to two or three ignorant pig-headed statesmen of the last century, at their door lies the blame. Do you ever feel mad? do you ever feel murderous. I think I do with those men. I bring facts to prove my assertion. Does an English father when his sons wish to emigrate ever think of suggesting emigration to a country under another flag, never—it would seem a disgrace to suggest such a thing I think that we all think that poverty is better under our own flag than wealth under a foreign one.

Put your mind into another train of thought. Fancy Australia discovered and colonised under the French flag, what would it mean merely several millions of English unborn that at present exist we learn from the past and to form our future. We learn from having lost to cling to what we possess. We know the size of the world we know the total extent. Africa is still lying ready for us it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honourable race the world possesses.

To forward such a scheme what a splendid help a secret society would be a society not openly acknowledged but who would work in secret for such an object.

I contend that there are at the present moment numbers of the ablest men in the world who would devote their whole lives to it. I often think what a loss to the English nation in some respects the abolition of the Rotten Borough System has been. What thought strikes a man entering the house of commons, the assembly that rule the whole world? I think it is the mediocrity of the men but what is the cause. It is simply—an assembly of wealth of men whose lives have been spent in the accumulation of money and whose time has been too much engaged to be able to spare any for the study of past history. And yet in hands of such

men rest our destinies. Do men like the great Pitt, and Burke and Sheridan not now to exist. I contend they do. There are men now living with I know no other term the [Greek term] of Aristotle but there are not ways for enabling them to serve their Country. They live and die unused unemployed. What has the main cause of the success of the Romish Church? The fact that every enthusiast, call it if you like every madman finds employment in it. Let us form the same kind of society a Church for the extension of the British Empire. A society which should have members in every part of the British Empire working with one object and one idea we should have its members placed at our universities and our schools and should watch the English youth passing through their hands just one perhaps in every thousand would have the mind and feelings for such an object, he should be tried in every way, he should be tested whether he is enduring, possessed of eloquence, disregardful of the petty details of life, and if found to be such, then elected and bound by oath to serve for the rest of his life in his County. He should then be supported if without means by the Society and sent to that part of the Empire where it was felt he was needed.

Take another case, let us fancy a man who finds himself his own master with ample means of attaining his majority whether he puts the question directly to himself or not, still like the old story of virtue and vice in the Memorabilia a fight goes on in him as to what he should do. Take if he plunges into dissipation there is nothing too reckless he does not attempt but after a time his life palls on him, he mentally says this is not good enough, he changes his life, he reforms, he travels, he thinks now I have found the chief good in life, the novelty wears off, and he tires, to change again, he goes into the far interior after the wild game he thinks at last I've found that in life of which I cannot tire, again he is disappointed. He returns he thinks is there nothing I can do in life? Here I am with means, with a good house, with everything that is to be envied and yet I am not happy I am tired of life he possesses within him a portion of the [Greek term] of Aristotle but he knows it not, to such a man the Society should go, should test, and should finally show him the greatness of the scheme and list him as a member.

Take one more case of the younger son with high thoughts, high aspirations, endowed by nature with all the faculties to make a great man, and with the sole wish in life to serve his Country but he lacks two things the means and the opportunity, ever troubled by a sort of inward deity urging him on to high and noble deeds, he is compelled to pass his time in some occupation which furnishes him with mere existence, he lives unhappily and dies miserably. Such men as these the Society should search out and use for the furtherance of their object.

(In every Colonial legislature the Society should attempt to have its members prepared at all times to vote or speak and advocate the closer union of England and the colonies, to crush all disloyalty and every movement for the severance of our Empire. The Society should inspire and even own portions of the press for the press rules the mind of the people. The Society should always be searching for members who might by their position in the world by their energies or character forward the object but the ballot and test for admittance should be severe)

Once make it common and it fails. Take a man of great wealth who is bereft of his children perhaps having his mind soured by some bitter disappointment who shuts himself up separate from his neighbours and makes up his mind to a miserable existence. To such men as these the society should go gradually disclose the greatness of their scheme and entreat him to throw in his life and property with them for this object. I think that there are thousands now existing who would eagerly grasp at the opportunity. Such are the heads of my scheme.

For fear that death might cut me off before the time for attempting its development I leave all my worldly goods in trust to S. G. Shippard and the Secretary for the Colonies at the time of my death to try to form such a Society with such an object.

(Source: <http://www.uoregon.edu/~kimball/Rhodes-Confession.htm>)



## The Circle of Initiates and Round Table Groups: Part 1

### Excerpts from Carroll Quigley's book *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 130-133

The new imperialism after 1870 was quite different in tone from that which the Little Englanders had opposed earlier. The chief changes were that it was justified on grounds of moral duty and of social reform and not, as earlier, on grounds of missionary activity and material advantage. The man most responsible for this change was John Ruskin.

Until 1870 there was no professorship of fine arts at Oxford, but in that year, thanks to the Slade bequest, John Ruskin was named to such a chair. He hit Oxford like an earthquake, not so much because he talked about fine arts, but because he talked also about the empire and England's downtrodden masses, and above all because he talked about all three of these things as moral issues. Until the end of the nineteenth century the poverty-stricken masses in the cities of England lived in want, ignorance, and crime very much as they have been described by Charles Dickens. Ruskin spoke to the Oxford undergraduates as members of the privileged, ruling class. He told them that they were the possessors of a magnificent tradition of education, beauty, rule of law, freedom, decency, and self-discipline but that this tradition could not be saved, and did not deserve to be saved, unless it could be extended to the lower classes in England itself and to the non-English masses throughout the world. If this precious tradition were not extended to these two great majorities, the minority of upper-class Englishmen would ultimately be submerged by these majorities and the tradition lost. To prevent this, the tradition must be extended to the masses and to the empire.

Ruskin's message had a sensational impact. His inaugural lecture was copied out in longhand by one undergraduate, Cecil Rhodes, who kept it with him for thirty years. Rhodes (1853-1902) feverishly exploited the diamond and goldfields of South Africa, rose to be prime minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896), contributed money to political parties, controlled parliamentary seats both in England and in South Africa, and sought to win a strip of British territory across Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt and to join these two extremes together with a telegraph line and ultimately with a Cape-to-Cairo Railway. Rhodes inspired devoted support for his goals from others in South Africa and in England. With financial support from Lord Rothschild and Alfred Beit, he was able to monopolize the diamond mines of South Africa as De Beers Consolidated Mines and to build up a great gold mining enterprise as Consolidated Gold Fields. In the middle 1890's Rhodes had a personal income of at least a million pounds sterling a year (then about five million dollars) which was spent so freely for his mysterious purposes that he was usually overdrawn on his account. These purposes centered on his desire to federate the English-speaking peoples and to bring all the habitable portions of the world under their control. For this purpose Rhodes left part of his great fortune to found the Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford in order to spread the English ruling class tradition throughout the English-speaking world as Ruskin had wanted.

Among Ruskin's most devoted disciples at Oxford were a group of intimate friends including Arnold Toynbee, Alfred (later Lord) Milner, Arthur Glazebrook, George (later Sir George) Parkin, Philip Lyttelton Gell, and Henry (later Sir Henry) Birchenough. These were so moved by Ruskin that they devoted the rest of their lives to carrying out his ideas. A similar group of Cambridge men including Reginald Baliol Brett (Lord Esher), Sir John B. Seeley, Albert (Lord) Grey, and Edmund Garrett were also aroused by Ruskin's message and devoted their lives to extension of the British Empire and uplift of England's urban masses as two parts of one project which they called "extension of the English-speaking idea." They were remarkably successful in these aims because England's most sensational journalist William T. Stead (1849-1912), an ardent social reformer and imperialist, brought them into association with Rhodes. This association was formally established on February 5, 1891, when Rhodes and Stead organized a secret society of which Rhodes had been dreaming for sixteen years. In this secret society Rhodes was to be leader; Stead, Brett (Lord Esher), and Milner were to form an executive committee; Arthur (Lord) Balfour, (Sir) Harry Johnston, Lord Rothschild, Albert (Lord) Grey, and others were listed as potential members of a "Circle of Initiates"; while there was to be an outer circle known as the "Association of Helpers" (later organized by Milner as the Round Table organization). Brett was invited to join this organization the same day and Milner a couple of weeks later, on his return from Egypt. Both accepted with enthusiasm. Thus the central part of the secret society was established by March 1891. It continued to function as a formal group, although the outer circle was, apparently, not organized until 1909-1913. This group was able to get access to Rhodes's money after his death in 1902 and also to the funds of loyal Rhodes supporters like Alfred Beit (1853-1906) and Sir Abe Bailey (1864-1940). With this backing they sought to extend and execute the ideals that Rhodes had obtained from Ruskin and Stead. Milner was the chief Rhodes Trustee and Parkin was Organizing Secretary of the Rhodes Trust after 1902, while Gell and Birchenough, as well as others with similar ideas, became officials of the British South Africa Company. They were joined in their efforts by other Ruskinite friends of Stead's like Lord Grey, Lord Esher, and Flora Shaw (later Lady Lugard). In 1890, by a stratagem too elaborate to describe here, Miss Shaw became Head of the Colonial Department of *The Times* while still remaining on the payroll of Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette*. In this post she played a major role in the next ten years in carrying into execution the imperial schemes of Cecil Rhodes, to whom Stead had introduced her in 1889.

In the meantime, in 1884, acting under Ruskin's inspiration, a group which included Arnold Toynbee, Milner, Gell, Grey, Seeley, and Michael Glazebrook founded the first "settlement house," an organization by which educated, upper-class people could live in the slums in order to assist, instruct, and guide the poor, with particular emphasis on social welfare and adult education. The new enterprise, set up in East London with P. L. Gell as chairman, was named Toynbee Hall after Arnold Toynbee who died, aged 31, in 1883. This was the original model for the thousands of settlement houses, such as Hull House in Chicago, now found throughout the world, and was one of the seeds from which the modern movement for adult education and university extension grew.

As governor-general and high commissioner of South Africa in the period 1897-1905, Milner recruited a group of young men, chiefly from Oxford and from Toynbee Hall, to assist him in organizing his administration. Through his influence these men were able to win influential posts in government and international finance and became the dominant influence in British imperial and foreign affairs up to 1939. Under Milner in South Africa they were known as Milner's Kindergarten until 1910. In 1909-1913 they organized semisecret groups, known as Round Table Groups, in the chief British dependencies and the United States. These still function in eight countries. They kept in touch with each other by personal correspondence and frequent visits, and through an influential (quarterly magazine, *The Round Table*, founded in 1910 and largely supported by Sir Abe Bailey's money. In 1919 they founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) for which the chief financial supporters were Sir Abe Bailey and the Astor family (owners of *The Times*). Similar Institutes of International Affairs were established in the chief British dominions and in the United States (where it is known as the Council on Foreign Relations) in the period 1919-1927. After 1925 a somewhat similar structure of organizations, known as the Institute of Pacific Relations, was set up in twelve countries holding territory in the Pacific area, the units in each British dominion existing on an interlocking basis with the Round Table Group and the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the same country. In Canada the nucleus of this group consisted of Milner's undergraduate friends at Oxford (such as Arthur Glazebrook and George Parkin), while in South Africa and India the nucleus was made up of former members of Milner's Kindergarten. These included (Sir) Patrick Duncan, B. K. Long, Richard Feetham, and (Sir) Dougal Malcolm in South Africa and (Sir) William Marris, James (Lord) Meston, and their friend Malcolm (Lord) Hailey in India. The groups in Australia and New Zealand had been recruited by Stead (through his magazine *The Review of Reviews*) as early as 1890-1893; by Parkin, at Milner instigation, in the period 1889-1910, and by Lionel Curtis, also at Milner's request, in 1910-1919. The power and influence of this Rhodes-Milner group in British imperial affairs and in foreign policy since 1889, although not widely recognized, can hardly be exaggerated. We might mention as an example that this group dominated *The Times* from 1890 to 1912 and has controlled it completely since 1912 (except for the years 1919-1922). Because *The Times* has been owned by the Astor family since 1922, this Rhodes-Milner group was sometimes spoken of as the "Cliveden Set," named after the Astor country house where they sometimes assembled. Numerous other papers and journals have been under the control or influence of this group since 1889. They have also established and influenced numerous university and other chairs of imperial affairs and international relations. Some of these are the Beit chairs at Oxford, the Montague Burton chair at Oxford, the Rhodes chair at London, the Stevenson chair at Chatham House, the Wilson chair at Aberystwyth, and others, as well as such important sources of influence as Rhodes House at Oxford.

From 1884 to 1915 the members of this group worked valiantly to extend the British Empire and to organize it in a federal system. They were constantly harping on the lessons to be learned from the failure of the American Revolution and the success of the Canadian federation of 1867, and hoped to federate the various parts of the empire as seemed feasible, then confederate the whole of it, with the United Kingdom, into a single organization. They also hoped to bring the United States into this organization to whatever degree was possible. Stead was able to get Rhodes to accept, in principle, a solution which might have made Washington the capital of the whole organization or allow parts of the empire to become states of the American Union.

## The Circle of Initiates and Round Table Groups: Part 2

### Excerpts from Carroll Quigley's book *Tragedy and Hope*, p. 950-952

There does exist, and has existed for a generation, an international Anglophile network which operates, to some extent, in the way the radical Right believes the Communists act. In fact, this network, which we may identify as the Round Table Groups, has no aversion to cooperating with the Communists, or any other groups, and frequently does so. I know of the operations of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early 1960's, to examine its papers and secret records. I have no aversion to it or to most of its aims and have, for much of my life, been close to it and to many of its instruments...the American branch of this organization (sometimes called the "Eastern Establishment") has played a very significant role in the history of the United States in the last generation.

The Round Table Groups were semi-secret discussion and lobbying groups organized by Lionel Curtis, Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian), and (Sir) William S. Marris in 1908-1911. This was done on behalf of Lord Milner, the dominant Trustee of the Rhodes Trust in the two decades 1905-1925. The original purpose of these groups was to seek to federate the English-speaking world along lines laid down by Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) and William T. Stead (1849-1912), and the money for the organizational work came originally from the Rhodes Trust. By 1915 Round Table groups existed in seven countries, including England, South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and a rather loosely organized group in the United States (George Louis Beer, Walter Lippmann, Frank Aydelotte, Whitney Shepardson, Thomas W. Lamont, Jerome D. Greene, Erwin D. Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and others). The attitudes of the various groups were coordinated by frequent visits and discussions and by a well-informed and totally anonymous quarterly magazine, *The Round Table*, whose first issue, largely written by Philip Kerr, appeared in November 1910.

The leaders of this group were: Milner, until his death in 1925, followed by Curtis (1872-1955), Robert H. (Lord) Brand (brother-in-law of Lady Astor) until his death in 1963, and now Adam D. Marris, son of Sir William and Brand's successor as managing director of Lazard Brothers bank. The original intention had been to have collegial leadership, but Milner was too secretive and headstrong to share the role. He did so only in the period 1913-1919 when he held regular meetings with some of his closest friends to coordinate their activities as a pressure group in the struggle with Wilhelmine Germany. This they called their "Ginger Group." After Milner's death in 1925, the leadership was largely shared by the survivors of Milner's "Kindergarten," that is, the group of young Oxford men whom he used as civil servants in his reconstruction of South Africa in 1901-1910. Brand was the last survivor of the "Kindergarten"; since his death, the greatly reduced activities of the organization have been exercised largely through the Editorial Committee of *The Round Table* magazine under Adam Marris.

Money for the widely ramified activities of this organization came originally from the associates and followers of Cecil Rhodes, chiefly from the Rhodes Trust itself, and from wealthy associates such as the Beit brothers, from Sir Abe Bailey, and (after 1915) from the Astor family. Since 1925 there have been substantial contributions from wealthy individuals and from foundations and firms associated with the international banking fraternity, especially the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, and other organizations associated with J. P. Morgan, the Rockefeller and Whitney families, and the associates of Lazard Brothers and of Morgan, Grenfell, and Company. The chief backbone of this organization grew up along the already existing financial cooperation running from the Morgan Bank in New York to a group of international financiers in London led by Lazard Brothers.

At the end of the war of 1914, it became clear that the organization of this system had to be greatly extended. Once again the task was entrusted to Lionel Curtis who established, in England and each dominion, a front organization to the existing local Round Table Group. This front organization, called the Royal Institute of International Affairs, had as its nucleus in each area the existing submerged Round Table Group. In New York it was known as the Council on Foreign Relations, and was a front for J. P. Morgan and Company in association with the very small American Round Table Group. The American organizers were dominated by the large number of Morgan "experts," including Lamont and Beer, who had gone to the Paris Peace Conference and there became close friends with the similar group of English "experts" which had been recruited by the Milner group. In fact, the original plans for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations were drawn up at Paris. The Council of the RIIA (which, by Curtis's energy came to be housed in Chatham House, across St. James's Square from the Astors, and was soon known by the name of this headquarters) and the board of the Council on Foreign Relations have carried ever since the marks of their origin.



## Excerpts from Carroll Quigley's book *The Anglo-American Establishment*

"This organization [the Milner Group] has been able to conceal its existence quite successfully, and many of its most influential members, satisfied to possess the reality rather than the appearance of power, are unknown even to close students of British history. This is the more surprising when we learn that one of the chief methods by which this Group works has been through propaganda. It plotted the Jameson Raid of 1895; it caused the Boer War of 1899-1902; it set up and controls the Rhodes Trust; it created the Union of South Africa in 1906-1910; it established the South African periodical *The State* in 1908; it founded the British Empire periodical *The Round Table* in 1910, and this remains the mouthpiece of the Group; it has been the most powerful single influence in All Souls, Balliol, and New Colleges at Oxford for more than a generation; it has controlled *The Times* for more than fifty years, with the exception of the three years 1919-1922; it publicized the idea of and the name "British Commonwealth of Nations" in the period 1908-1918; it was the chief influence in Lloyd George's war administration in 1917-1919 and dominated the British delegation to the Peace Conference of 1919; it had a great deal to do with the formation and management of the League of Nations and of the system of mandates; it founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1919 and still controls it; it was one of the chief influences on British policy toward Ireland, Palestine, and India in the period 1917-1945; it was a very important influence on the policy of appeasement of Germany during the years 1920-1940; and it controlled and still controls, to a very considerable extent, the sources and the writing of the history of British Imperial and foreign policy since the Boer War. It would be expected that a Group which could number among its achievements such accomplishments as these would be a familiar subject for discussion among students of history and public affairs. In this case, the expectation is not realized, partly because of the deliberate policy of secrecy which this Group has adopted, partly because the Group itself is not closely integrated but rather appears as a series of overlapping circles or rings partly concealed by being hidden behind formally organized groups of no obvious political significance."

- Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, p. 4-5

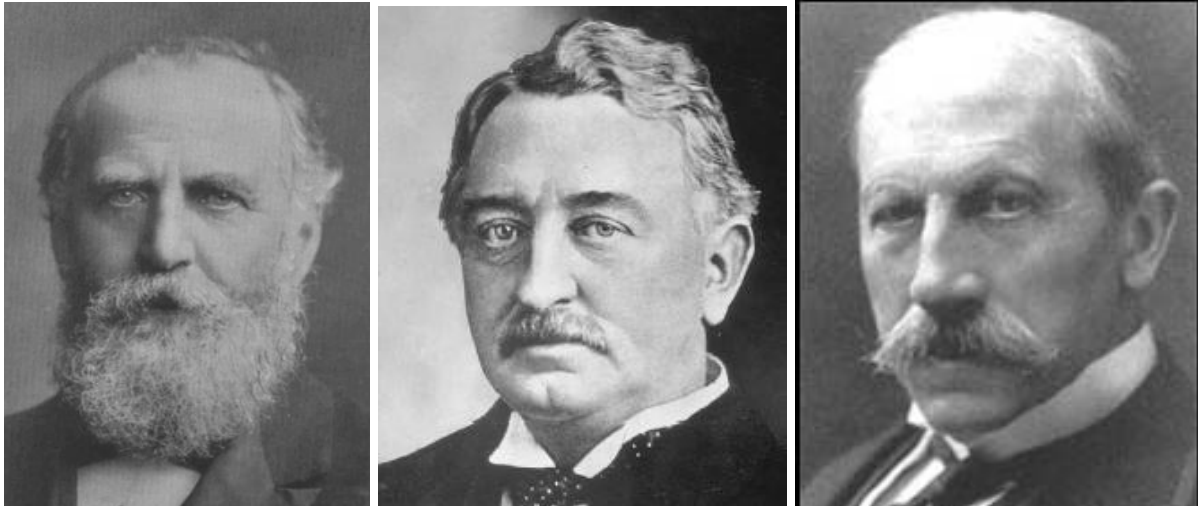
"*The Times* was to be a paper for the people who are influential, and not for the masses. *The Times* was influential, but the degree of its influence would never be realized by anyone who examined only the paper itself. The greater part of its influence arose from its position as one of several branches of a single group, the Milner Group. By the interaction of these various branches on one another, under the pretense that each branch was an autonomous power, the influence of each branch was increased through a process of mutual reinforcement. The unanimity among the various branches was believed by the outside world to be the result of the influence of a single Truth, while really it was the result of the existence of a single group. Thus, a statesman (a member of the Group) announces a policy. About the same time, the Royal Institute of International Affairs publishes a study on the subject, and an Oxford don, a Fellow of All Souls (and a member of the Group) also publishes a volume on the subject (probably through a publishing house, like G. Bell and Sons or Faber and Faber, allied to the Group). The statesman's policy is subjected to critical analysis and final approval in a "leader" in *The Times*, while the two books are reviewed (in a single review) in *The Times Literary Supplement*. Both the "leader" and the review are anonymous but are written by members of the Group. And finally, at about the same time, an anonymous article in *The Round Table* strongly advocates the same policy. The cumulative effect of such tactics as this, even if each tactical move influences only a small number of important people, is bound to be great. If necessary, the strategy can be carried further, by arranging for the secretary to the Rhodes Trustees to go to America for a series of "informal discussions" with former Rhodes Scholars, while a prominent retired statesman (possibly a former Viceroy of India) is persuaded to say a few words at the unveiling of a plaque in All Souls or New College in honor of some deceased Warden. By a curious coincidence, both the "informal discussions" in America and the unveiling speech at Oxford touch on the same topical subject. An analogous procedure in reverse could be used for policies or books which the Group did not approve. A cutting editorial or an unfriendly book review, followed by a suffocating blanket of silence and neglect, was the best that such an offering could expect from the instruments of the Milner Group."

- Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, p. 114-115

"From this point onward (early 1938), the Milner Group increasingly emphasized the necessity for building up this Oceanic bloc. In England the basic propaganda work was done through *The Round Table* and Lionel Curtis, while in the United States it was done through the Rhodes Scholarship organization, especially through Clarence Streit and Frank Aydelotte. In England, Curtis wrote a series of books and articles advocating a new federal organization built around the English-speaking countries. The chief work of this nature was his *Civitas Dei*, which appeared in three volumes in 1934-1937. A one volume edition was issued in 1938, with the title *The Commonwealth of God*. The first two volumes of this work are nothing more than a rehash and expansion of the older work *The Commonwealth of Nations* (1916). By a superficial and frequently erroneous rewriting of world history, the author sought to review the evolution of the "commonwealth" idea and to show that all of history leads to its fulfillment and achievement in federation. Ultimately, this federation will be worldwide, but en route it must pass through stages, of which the chief is federation of the English-speaking peoples."

- Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment*, p. 282

# THE SOCIETY OF THE ELECT



William T. Stead, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Alfred Milner



Lord Albert Grey, Lord Esher (Reginald Brett), Lord Arthur Balfour

The “Society of the Elect”, Cecil Rhodes’s secret society, was established by Cecil Rhodes in February 1891.

The “ideal arrangement” for the society as proposed by Cecil Rhodes:

1. General of the Society: Rhodes
2. Junta of Three: Stead, Brett, Milner
3. Circle of Initiates: Cardinal Manning, General Booth, Bramwell Booth, “Little” Johnston, Albert Grey, Arthur Balfour
4. The Association of Helpers

A College, under Professor Seeley, to be established “to train people in the English-speaking idea.”

## Institutions controlled by the Milner Group

Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House)  
All Souls College at Oxford University  
Oxford University  
*The London Times* (newspaper)  
*The Round Table* (magazine)  
Rhodes Trust (Rhodes Scholarship)  
Ministry of Information

## LORD ALFRED MILNER’S KINDERGARTEN

As High Commissioner, Milner built up a body of assistants known in history as “Milner’s Kindergarten.” The following list gives the chief members of the Kindergarten, their dates of birth and death (where possible), their undergraduate colleges (with dates), and the dates in which they were Fellows of All Souls.

NAME	DATES	COLLEGE	ALL SOULS
Patrick Duncan (later Sir Patrick)	1870-1946	Balliol 1890-1894	Never
Philip Kerr (later Lord Lothian)	1882-1940	New 1897-1901	Never
Robert Henry Brand (later Lord Brand)	1878-1963	New 1897-1901	1901-
Lionel Curtis	1872-1955	New 1891-1905	1921-
Geoffrey Dawson (until 1917 Robinson)	1874-1944	Magdalen 1893-1897	1898-1905; 1915-1944
John Buchan (later Lord Tweedsmuir)	1875-1940	Brasenose 1895-1899	Never
Dougal Orme Malcolm (later Sir Dougal)	1877-1955	New 1895-1899	1899-1955
William Lionel Hitchens	1874-1941	New 1894-1898	Never
Richard Feetham	1874-1965	New 1893-1898	Never
John Dove	1872-1934	New 1891-1895	Never
Basil Williams	1867-1950	New 1886-1891	1924-1925
Lord Basil Blackwood	1870-1917	Balliol 1891- ?	Never
Hugh A. Wyndham	1877 - ?	New 1896-1900	Never
George V. Fiddes (later Sir George)	1858-1925	Brasenose 1880-1884	Never
John Hanbury-Williams (later Sir John)	1859-1946	Wellington, New Zealand	Never
Main S. O. Walrond	1870- ?	Balliol	Never
Fabian Ware (later Sir Fabian)	1869-1949	University of Paris	Never
William Flavelle Monypenny	1866-1912	Balliol 1888-1890	Never

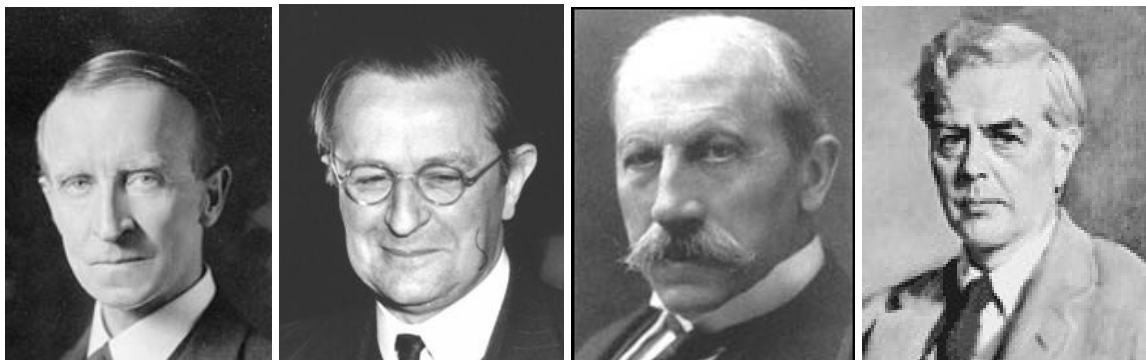
NAME	DESCRIPTION
(Sir) Patrick Duncan	Treasurer of the Transvaal (1901); Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal (1903-1906)
Philip Kerr (Lord Lothian)	Brand’s assistant on the Intercolonial Council and on the Committee of Central South African Railways (1905-1908)
Robert Henry Brand (Lord Brand)	Secretary of the Intercolonial Council of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony
Lionel Curtis	Town Clerk of Johannesburg under Milner
Geoffrey Dawson (Robinson)	Editor of the <i>Johannesburg Star</i> (1905-1910)
John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir)	Alfred Milner’s private secretary (1901-1903)
(Sir) Dougal Orme Malcolm	private secretary to Lord Selborne in South Africa (1905-1910)
William Lionel Hitchens	Treasurer of Johannesburg (1901-1902); Colonial Treasurer of the Transvaal and Treasurer of the Intercolonial Council (1902-1907)
Richard Feetham	Town Clerk of Johannesburg (1902-1905)
John Dove	Clerk of Johannesburg (1903-1907); Chairman of the Transvaal Land Settlement Board (1907-1909)
Basil Williams	Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department
Lord Basil Blackwood	Assistant Colonial Secretary of Orange River Colony (1901-1907)
Hugh A. Wyndham	member of the South African Union Parliament (1910-1920)
(Sir) George Vandeleur Fiddes	Alfred Milner’s secretary (1897-1900); Secretary to the Transvaal Administration (1900-1902)
(Sir) John Hanbury-Williams	Alfred Milner’s military secretary (1897-1900)
Main S. O. Walrond	Alfred Milner’s private secretary
(Sir) Fabian Ware	Director of Education in the Transvaal; editor of the <i>Morning Post</i> (South African newspaper) (1905-1911)
William Flavelle Monypenny	editor of the <i>Johannesburg Star</i> in the Transvaal





Lord Alfred Milner's Kindergarten appears in front of a camera. Standing (back row): Robert H. Brand, Patrick Duncan, Herbert Baker, and Lionel Hitchens. Seated (middle row): Hugh Wyndham, Richard Feetham, Lionel Curtis, F. (Peter) Perry, and Dougal O. Malcolm. Sitting on the ground (front row): John Dove, Philip Kerr, and Geoffrey Robinson

Lord Alfred Milner himself does not appear in this photo. Lord Milner was the High Commissioner to South Africa during the Boer War. Milner's "Kindergarten" were his assistants who had graduated from Oxford. This photo was published in a book called *Milner's young men: the "kindergarten" in Edwardian Imperial affairs* by Walter Nimocks (published in 1968 by Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina).



John Buchan, Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian), Lord Alfred Milner, Lionel Curtis



All Souls College at Oxford University

“Until the time of Disraeli, the creation of the empire has been a haphazard and, it was said, an absent-minded affair. Disraeli gave it glamour and focused attention on it. Coming afterward, Amery and his friends in the Milner circle, who had worked in concert with Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, were among its deliberate glorifiers. Many among them advocated the creation of an empire-wide economic system, closed to outsiders by tariffs. Others, who recognized that various parts of the empire often appeared to occupy economic positions in conflict with one another, advocated closer political association. Lionel Curtis, a founder of their publication, the *Round Table*, claimed that the British Empire had no choice but federation or disintegration. He spoke for those in the Milner circle whose program was organic, political union of the empire, with an imperial parliament elected from the Dominions as well as from Britain, giving rise to an imperial Cabinet which would rule the empire as a whole.”

*A Peace To End All Peace: Creating The Modern Middle East, 1914-1922* by David Fromkin, p. 280. David Fromkin is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

# A Tentative Roster of the Milner Group

From the Appendix section of *The Anglo-American Establishment* by Carroll Quigley, p. 311-315

“THE FOLLOWING LISTS are tentative in the sense that they are incomplete and erroneous. The errors are more likely in the attribution of persons to one circle of the Group rather than another, and are less likely in the attribution to the Group of persons who are not members at all. For the names given I have sufficient evidence to convince me that they are members of the Group, although I would not in many cases feel competent to insist that the persons concerned knew that they were members of a secret group. The evidence on which this list is based is derived from documentary evidence, from private information, and from circumstantial evidence. Persons are listed in each group on the basis of general impression rather than exact demarcation, because the distinction between the two is rather vague and varies from time to time. For example, I know for a fact that Sir Alfred Zimmern and Lord Cecil of Chelwood attended meetings of the inner circle in the period before 1920, but I have attributed them to the outer circle because this appears to be the more accurate designation for the long period since 1920. Within each list I have placed the names of the various individuals in order of chronology and of importance. In some cases where I suspected a person of being a member without having any very convincing evidence, I have enclosed the name in brackets.” – Carroll Quigley

## The Society of the Elect

Cecil John Rhodes  
 Nathan (“Natty”) Rothschild, Baron Rothschild  
 Sir Harry Johnston  
 William T. Stead  
 Reginald Brett, Viscount Esher  
 Alfred Milner, Viscount Milner  
 B. F. Hawksley  
 Thomas Brassey, Lord Brassey  
 Edmund Garrett  
 [Sir Edward Cook]  
 Alfred Beit  
 Sir Abe Bailey  
 Albert Grey, Earl Grey  
 Archibald Primrose, Earl of Rosebery  
 Arthur James Balfour  
 Sir George R. Parkin  
 Philip Lyttelton Gell  
 Sir Henry Birchenough  
 Sir Reginald Sothorn Holland  
 Arthur Lionel Smith  
 Herbert A. L. Fisher  
 William Waldegrave Palmer, Earl of Selborne  
 [Sir Alfred Lyttelton]  
 Sir Patrick Duncan  
 Robert Henry Brand, Baron Brand  
 Philip Kerr, Marquess of Lothian  
 Lionel Curtis  
 Geoffrey Dawson  
 Edward Grigg, Baron Altrincham  
 Jan C. Smuts  
 Leopold Amery  
 Waldorf Astor, Viscount Astor  
 Nancy Astor, Lady Astor

## The Association of Helpers - The Inner Circle

Sir Patrick Duncan  
 Robert Henry Brand, Baron Brand  
 Philip Kerr, Marquess of Lothian  
 Lionel Curtis  
 William L. Hichens  
 Geoffrey Dawson  
 Edward Grigg, Baron Altrincham  
 Herbert A. L. Fisher  
 Leopold Amery  
 Richard Feetham  
 Hugh A. Wyndham  
 Sir Dougal Malcolm  
 Basil Williams  
 Basil Kellett  
 Long Sir Abe Bailey  
 Jan C. Smuts  
 Sir William Marris  
 James S. Meston, Baron Meston  
 Malcolm Hailey, Baron Hailey  
 Flora Shaw, Lady Lugard  
 Sir Reginald Coupland  
 Waldorf Astor, Viscount Astor  
 Nancy Astor, Lady Astor  
 Maurice Hankey, Baron Hankey  
 Arnold J. Toynbee  
 Laurence F. Rushbrooke Williams  
 Henry Vincent Hodson  
 Vincent Todd Harlow



The Association of Helpers – The Outer Circle

John Buchan, Baron Tweedsmuir  
Sir Fabian Ware  
Sir Alfred Zimmern  
Gilbert Murray  
Robert Cecil, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood  
Sir James W. Headlam-Morley  
Frederick J. N. Thesiger, Viscount Chelmsford  
Sir Valentine Chirol  
Edward F. L. Wood, Earl of Halifax  
Sir [James] Arthur Salter  
Sir Arthur H. D. R. Steel-Maitland  
William G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Baron Harlech  
Dame Edith Lyttelton, Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton  
Frederick Lugard, Baron Lugard  
Sir [Leander] Starr Jameson  
Henry W. C. Davis  
John A. Simon, Viscount Simon  
Samuel J. G. Hoare, Viscount Templewood  
Maurice P. A. Hankey, Baron Hankey  
Wilson Harris  
[Francis Clarke]  
William G. S. Adams  
[William K. Hancock]  
Ernest L. Woodward  
Sir Harold Butler  
Kenneth N. Bell  
Sir Donald B. Somervell  
Sir Maurice L. Gwyer  
Charles R. S. Harris  
Sir Edward R. Peacock  
Sir Cyril J. Radcliffe  
John W. Wheeler-Bennett  
Robert J. Stopford  
Robert M. Barrington-Ward  
[Kenneth C. Wheare]  
Edward H. Carr  
Malcolm MacDonald  
Godfrey Elton, Baron Elton  
Sir Neill Malcolm  
Freeman Freeman-Thomas, Viscount Willingdon  
Isaiah Berlin  
Roger M. Makins  
Sir Arthur Willert  
Ivison S. Macadam

The Association of Helpers – The Outer Circle

Canada:  
Arthur J. Glazebrook  
Sir George Parkin  
Vincent Massey  
George P. de T. Glazebrook  
Percy Corbett  
[Sir Joseph Flavelle]

United States:  
George Louis Beer  
Frank Aydelotte  
Jerome Greene  
[Clarence Steit]

South Africa:  
Jan C. Smuts  
Sir Patrick Duncan  
Sir Abe Bailey  
Basil K. Long  
Richard Feetham  
[Sir James Rose-Innes]

Australia:  
Sir Thomas Bavin  
Sir Frederic Eggleston  
[Dudley D. Braham]

New Zealand:  
Sir James Allen  
William Downie Stewart  
Arthur R. Atkinson

Germany:  
Helmuth James von Moltke  
Adam von Trott zu Solz

Note: The Milner Group is also known as the “Cliveden Set”, the Round Table Group, the All Souls group, *The Times* crowd, and “Rhodes secret society.” Milner’s “Kindergarten” would integrate with the Milner Group after the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Milner Group is the name used by Carroll Quigley in his book *The Anglo-American Establishment* to describe Cecil Rhodes’s and Alfred Milner’s secret society.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

### Cecil Rhodes and his “Afrika Korps”

Cecil Rhodes	Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896); founder of De Beers diamond company; founder of the Rhodes Scholarship; born on July 5, 1853; died on March 26, 1902
Leander Starr Jameson	Administrator of Southern Rhodesia (1894-1896); Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1904-1908); the commander of the infamous Jameson Raid
William T. Stead	Editor of <i>The Times</i> of London
Lord Esher (Reginald Brett)	Deputy Constable and Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle (1901-1928); Constable and Governor of Windsor Castle (1928-1930)
Sir Abe Bailey	Member of Cape Parliament (1902-1907); Member of South African Union Parliament (1915-1924)
Lord Albert Grey	Member of Parliament (1880-1886); Administrator of Southern Rhodesia (1896-1898); Governor General of Canada (1904-1911)
Sir Henry Johnston	first British commissioner to the Nyasaland Protectorate (present-day Malawi) (1891-1895); British Consul-General of Uganda (1899-1901)
Alfred Beit	born in Hamburg, Germany; former Vice President of the British South African Company
Sir Hercules Robinson	Governor of Hong Kong (1859-1865); Governor of New South Wales (1872-1879); Governor of New Zealand (1879-1880); Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner to South Africa (1881-1889, 1895-1897)
Sir Francis Drummond Percy Chaplin	Administrator of Southern Rhodesia (1914-1923); Administrator of Northern Rhodesia (1921-1923); Resident Director of the British South Africa Company (1923-1933)
Benjamin Disraeli	Prime Minister of Great Britain (1874-1880); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1858-1859, 1866-1868)
Lord Robert Salisbury	Prime Minister of Great Britain (1885-1886, 1886-1892, 1895-1902); Chancellor of the University College at Oxford (1869-1903)
Lord (Lionel) Walter Rothschild	Member of Parliament (1899-1910); member of the House of Lords (1915-1937)
Queen Victoria	Queen of Great Britain (1837-1901) and Empress of India
King Edward VII	King of Great Britain (1901-1910) and Emperor of India

### Oxford Academicians and Journalists

John Ruskin	Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford University (1869-1879)
Sir Isaiah Berlin	Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at the University of Oxford (1957-1967); first President of Wolfson College at Oxford; President of the British Academy (1974-1978)
Sir Henry Birchenough	director of the British South Africa Company
Valentine Chirol	Head of the Foreign Department at <i>The Times</i> (London) (1897-1912); <i>The Times</i> correspondent in Berlin (1892-1896); minister without portfolio; member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference
Godfrey Elton	Secretary of the Rhodes Trust (1939-1959)
Philip Lyttelton Gell	first chairman of Toynbee Hall (1884-1896); director of British South Africa Company (1899-1925)
Arthur Glazebrook	founder and chief leader of the Canadian branch of the Milner Group
Michael Glazebrook	Canon of Ely (1905-1926); Headmaster of Clifton College (1891-1905)
Sir James W. Headlam-Morley	Professor of Greek and Ancient History at Queen's College, London (1894-1900); Assistant Director of the Political Intelligence Bureau in the Department of Information (1917-1918)
Henry Vincent Hodson	Editor of <i>The Round Table</i> (1934-1939); Editor of <i>The Sunday Times</i> (1950-1961); Director of the Empire Division of the Ministry of Information (1939-1941)
Lady Lugard	Head of the Colonial Department of <i>The Times</i> (1890); close friend of Cecil Rhodes
Sir Ivison Stevenson Macadam	former Director General of the Royal Institute of International Affairs
Gilbert Murray	professor of Greek at Oxford; chairman of the League of Nations Union (1923-1938); first president of the general council of the United Nations Association
Sir George Parkin	Secretary of the Rhodes Trust (1902-1922)
Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883)	lecturer in political economy at Oxford University; author of <i>The Industrial Revolution in England</i>
Arnold J. Toynbee	Director of Studies at the RIIA (1925-1955); Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine History at King's College London; nephew of Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883)
John Wheeler-Bennett	official biographer of King George VI; a Nazi sympathizer
Sir Arthur Willert	Chief correspondent for <i>The Times</i> in Washington D.C. (1910-1920)
Laurence F.R. Williams	Editorial Adviser of The Pakistan Society (London); Vice President of Indo-British Historical Association
Alfred Zimmern	author of <i>The Greek Commonwealth</i> ; former Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford

## Lord Alfred Milner and his Afrika Korps

Lord Alfred Milner	Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa (1897-1905); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1919-1921); Chancellor of the University College at Oxford (1925)
Lionel Curtis	Godfather and Founder of the Royal Institute of International Affairs
Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian)	Under-Secretary of State for India (1931-1932); Editor of <i>The Round Table</i> (1910-1916); Secretary of the Rhodes Trust (1925-1939); British Ambassador to the U.S. (1939-1940)
Lord Robert Henry Brand	Secretary of the Intercolonial Council of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony under Milner; a fellow at All Soul's College at Oxford; a managing director of Lazard Brothers; married to Nancy Astor's sister
John Buchan	Governor-General of Canada (1935-1940)
Geoffrey Dawson	Editor of <i>The Times</i> of London (1912-1919, 1922-1941); Editor of the <i>Johannesburg Star</i> (1905-1910)
John Dove	Clerk of Johannesburg (1903-1907); Chairman of the Transvaal Land Settlement Board (1907-1909); Editor of <i>The Round Table</i> (1921-1934)
Sir Patrick Duncan	Governor-General of South Africa (1937-1943)
Richard Feetham	Town Clerk of Johannesburg (1902-1905); Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa (1923-1930, 1939-?)
Sir John Hanbury-Williams	Chief of the British Military Mission to Russia (1914-1917); military secretary to High Commissioner to South Africa Alfred Milner (1897-1900)
William L. Hichens	Treasurer of Johannesburg (1901-1902); Colonial Treasurer of the Transvaal and Treasurer of the Intercolonial Council (1902-1907)
Sir Dougal Malcolm	private secretary to Lord Selborne in South Africa (1905-1910); former President of British South Africa Company (1938-?)
William Flavelle Monypenny	Editor of the <i>Johannesburg Star</i> in the Transvaal
Main S.O. Walrond	Alfred Milner's private secretary during the Boer War
Sir Fabian Ware	Director of Education in the Transvaal; editor of the <i>Morning Post</i> (South African newspaper) (1905-1911)
Hugh A. Wyndham	member of the South African Union Parliament (1910-1920)
Leopold Amery	editor of The Times History of the South African War; Member of Parliament (1910-1944); Secretary of State for Colonies (1924-1929); Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (1925-1929); Secretary of State for India and Burma (1940-1945); First Lord of the Admiralty (1922-1924)
Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher	Warden of New College at Oxford University (1926-1940); Member of Parliament (1916-1926); President of the Board of Education (1916-1922)
Sir Edward Grigg (Lord Altrincham)	Governor of Kenya (1925-1930); British Member of Parliament (1922-1925, 1933-1945)
Basil K. Long	Member of Cape Parliament, South Africa (1908-1909); Editor of <i>The State</i> [Kindergarten's propaganda journal] (1909-1912); Member of South African Union Parliament (1910-1913); Editor of the <i>Cape Times</i> (1921-1935)
Sir William S. Marris	Governor of the United Provinces (India) (1922-1928); Civil Service Commissioner of Transvaal under Milner
James Meston	adviser to the Cape Colony and Transvaal on civil service reform (1904-1906); Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces (of India) (1912-1917)
William Waldegrave Palmer (2nd Earl of Selborne)	High Commissioner to South Africa (1905-1910)
Edward F.L. Wood (Lord Halifax)	British Ambassador to the U.S. (1940-1946); Viceroy of India (1926-1931); Foreign Secretary (1938-1940); Chancellor of the University College at Oxford (1933-?)
Jan Christian Smuts	Prime Minister of South Africa (1919-1924, 1939-1948)



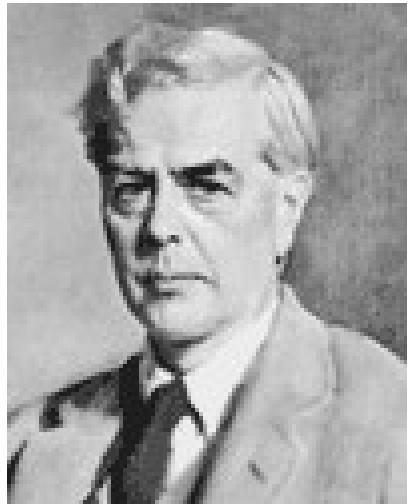
## British Politicians

Lord Nathan "Natty" Rothschild	Member of Parliament (1865-1885); House of Lords (1885-1915)
Arthur J. Balfour	Prime Minister of Great Britain (1902-1905); Foreign Secretary (1916-1919)
Archibald Primrose (Earl of Rosebery)	Prime Minister of Great Britain (1894-1895); Foreign Secretary (1886, 1892-1894)
Waldorf Astor (2nd Viscount Astor)	Member of the House of Lords (1919-1952); Member of Parliament (1910-1919)
Lord Thomas Brassey	Governor of Victoria (Australia) (1895-1900); Member of Parliament (1868-1886)
Lord Robert Cecil	Minister of Blockade (1916-1918); Member of Parliament (1906-1923)
George Nathaniel Curzon (1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston)	Viceroy of India (1899-1905); Member of Parliament (1886-1898); Leader of the House of Lords (1916-1924); Foreign Secretary (1919-1924)
Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas (1st Marquess of Willingdon)	Governor General of Canada (1926-1931); Viceroy of India (1931-1936); Governor of Bombay (1913-1918)
Sir Maurice L. Gwyer	Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India (1937-1943)
Malcolm Hailey	Governor of the Punjab (1924-1928); Governor of the United Provinces (India) (1928-1934)
Maurice P.A. Hankey	Secretary of the Cabinet (1916-1938); Paymaster-General (1941-1942)
Samuel J. G. Hoare (Viscount Templewood)	Member of Parliament (1910-1944); British Ambassador to Spain (1940-1944); Secretary of State for India (1931-1935)
Sir Frederick Lugard	Governor of Hong Kong (1907-1912); Governor-General of Nigeria (1914-1919)
Alfred Lyttelton	Member of Parliament (1895-1913); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1903-1905)
Roger M. Makins	British Ambassador to the U.S. (1953-1956)
Malcolm MacDonald	U.K. High Commissioner to Canada (1941-1946); Governor-General of Malaya (1946-1953); Governor-General of Kenya (1963-1964); Secretary of State for the Colonies (1938-1940); Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (1935-1939); Member of Parliament (1929-1945)
William G. A. Ormsby-Gore (Baron Harlech)	High Commissioner to South Africa (1941-1944); Member of Parliament (1910-1938)
Sir Cyril Radcliffe	Commissioner of the India-Pakistan Border Commission (1947)
James A. Salter	Member of Parliament (1937-1953)
Sir Donald B. Somervell	Member of Parliament (1931-1945); Attorney General for England and Wales (1936-1945)
John A. Simon (Viscount Simon)	Member of Parliament (1906-1918, 1922-1940); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1937-1940); Foreign Secretary (1931-1935); Lord Chancellor (1940-1945)
Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland	Member of Parliament (1910-1935); Minister of Labour (1924-1929)
Frederick J. N. Thesiger (Viscount Chelmsford)	Governor of Queensland (1905-1909); Governor of New South Wales (1909-1913); Viceroy of India (1916-1921)

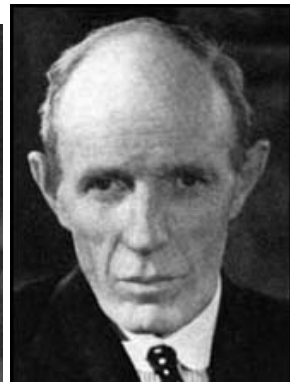
## Foreign members of the Milner Group

Frank Aydelotte	President of Swarthmore College (1921-1940); a Rhodes Scholar
Clarence K. Streit	author of <i>Union Now</i> and an advocate of an Atlantic Union; a Rhodes Scholar
George Louis Beer	a participant at the Paris Peace Conference and a member of the Inquiry
Jerome D. Greene	Secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation (1913-1917)
Percy Corbett	Canadian Rhodes Scholar; Professor of Roman Law at McGill University (1924-1937); Professor of Government and Jurisprudence at Yale (1944-?); Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Yale (1944-?)
Vincent Massey	Canadian Ambassador to the U.S. (1927-1930); Governor General of Canada (1952-1959)
Sir Joseph W. Flavelle	former Chairman of the Bank of Commerce (Canada); Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board during World War I
Sir Thomas Bavin	Premier of New South Wales (1927-1930)
Sir Frederic W. Eggleston	Australian Minister to China (1941-1944); Australian Minister to the U.S. (1944-1946)
Dudley Disraeli Braham	Foreign correspondent of <i>The Times</i> (1897-1907); Editor of the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> in Sydney
Sir James Allen	New Zealand Minister of Defense (1912-1920); High Commissioner for New Zealand (1920-1926)
William Downie Stewart	Member of New Zealand Parliament (1914-1935); New Zealand Minister of Finance (1925-1928)
Helmuth James von Moltke	
Adam von Trott zu Solz	German Rhodes Scholar

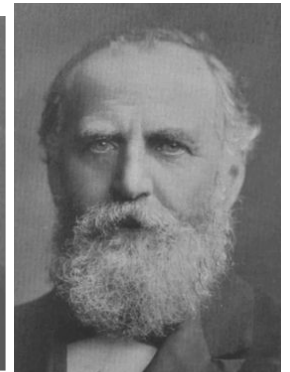
# Notable Members of the Milner Group



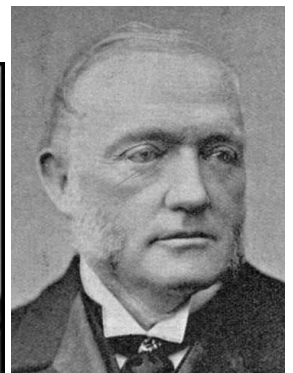
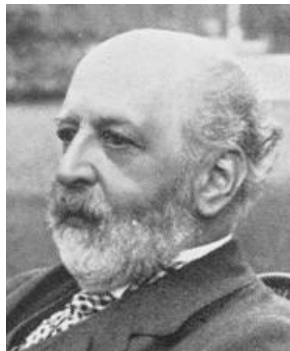
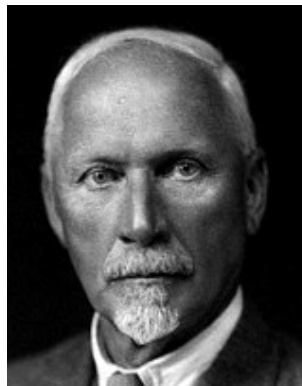
Lord Alfred Milner, Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Curtis



Lord Esher (Reginald Brett), Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian), John Buchan, Lord Halifax,



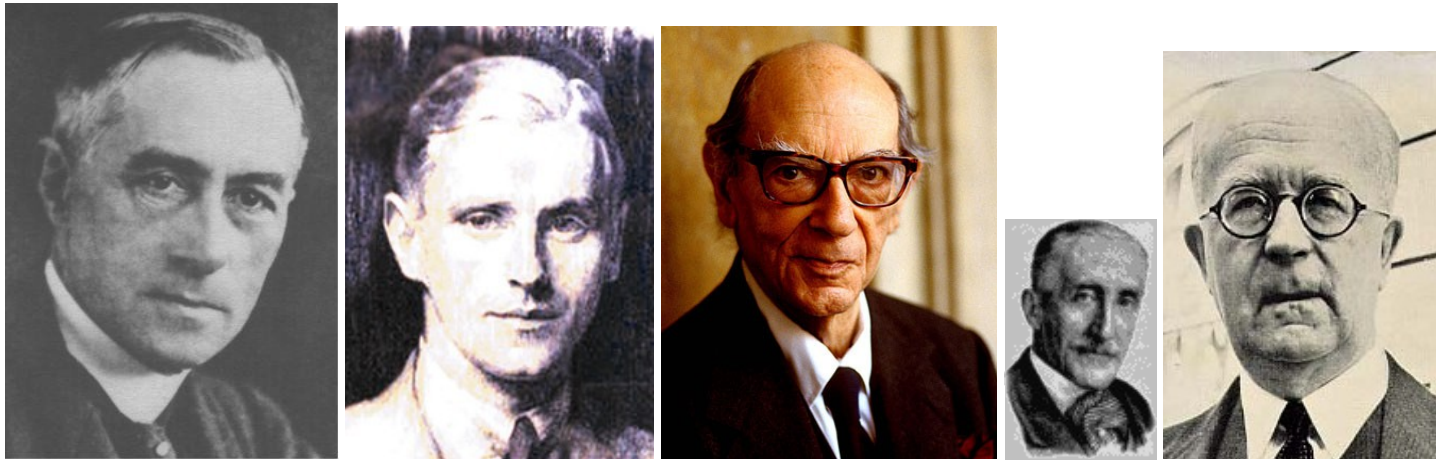
Lord Albert Grey, Sir Abe Bailey, Leander Starr Jameson, Alfred Beit, William T. Stead



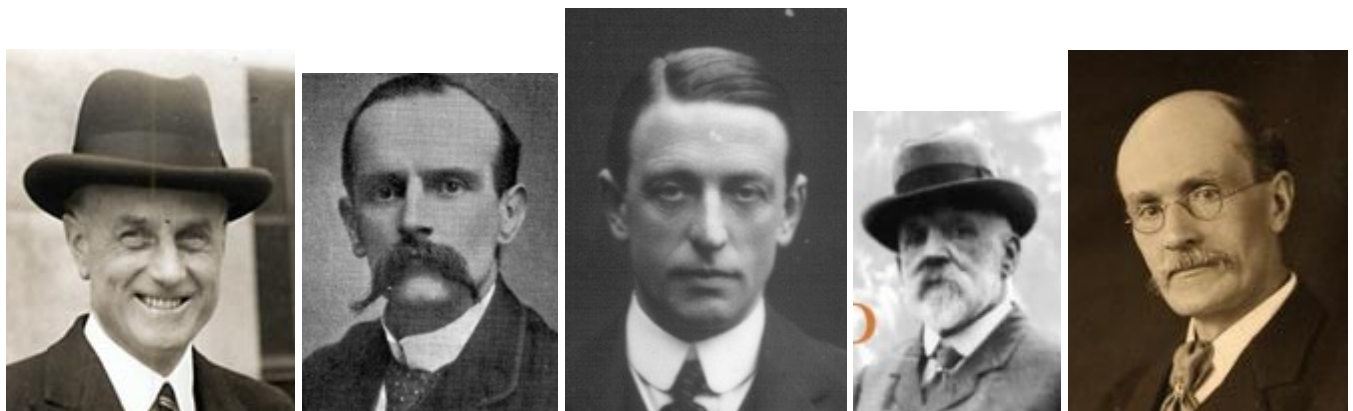
Arthur Balfour, Jan Christian Smuts, Natty Rothschild, Archibald Primrose (Earl of Rosebery), Lord Thomas Brassey



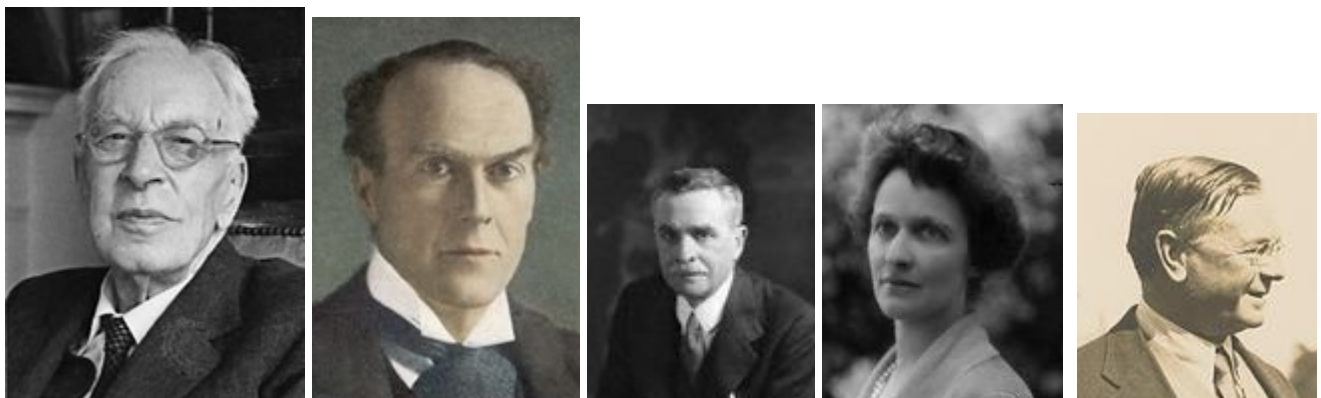
Robert Cecil, Maurice P.A. Hankey, Sir William S. Marris, Sir George Parkin, Sir Henry Birchenough,



Sir James Wycliffe Headlam-Morley, Sir Ivison Macadam, Isaiah Berlin, Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas, Sir Cyril Radcliffe



Samuel Hoare, Sir Frederick Lugard, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Sir Valentine Chirol, Gilbert Murray



Arnold J. Toynbee, Alfred Lyttelton, Waldorf Astor, Lady Nancy Astor, Leopold Amery



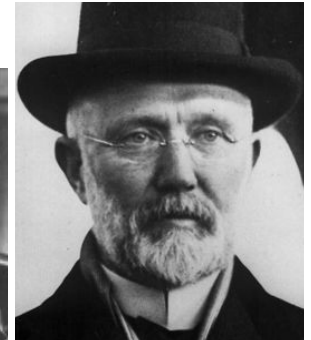


Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Fabian Ware, Alfred Zimmern, Sir Reginald Coupland, Viscount John Simon

#### Foreign Members:

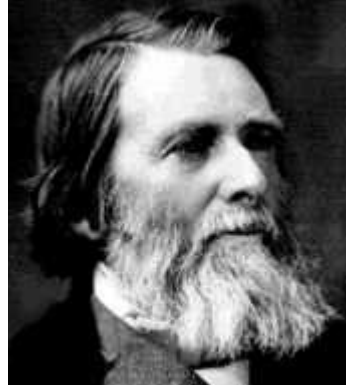


Clarence K. Streit, Sir Frederic W. Eggleston, Sir Thomas Bavin, William Downie Stewart, Frank Aydelotte



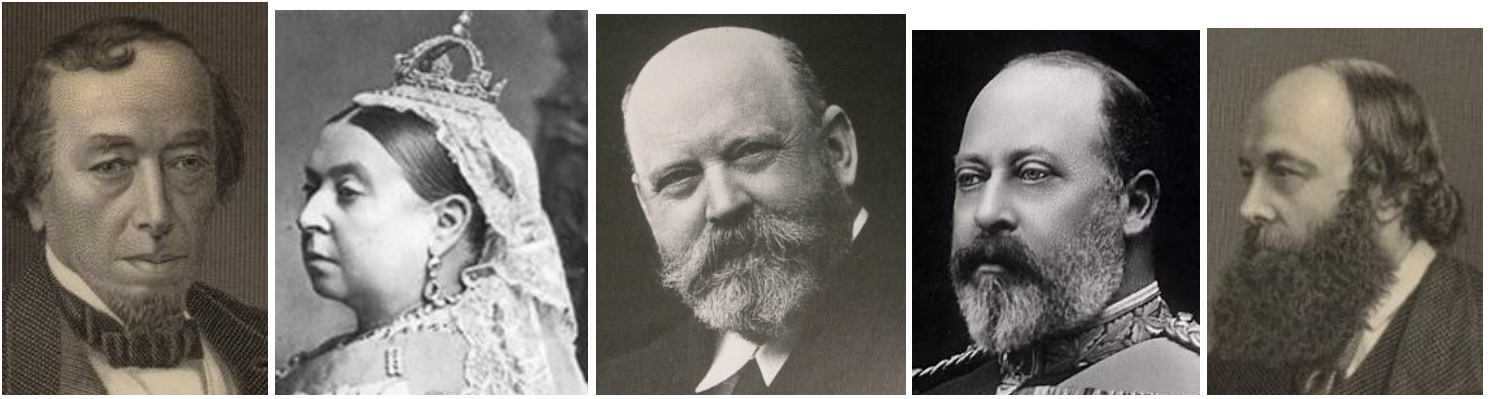
Sir James Allen, Helmuth James von Moltke, Adam von Trott zu Solz, Vincent Massey, Sir Joseph Wesley Flavelle

#### John Ruskin and His Disciples

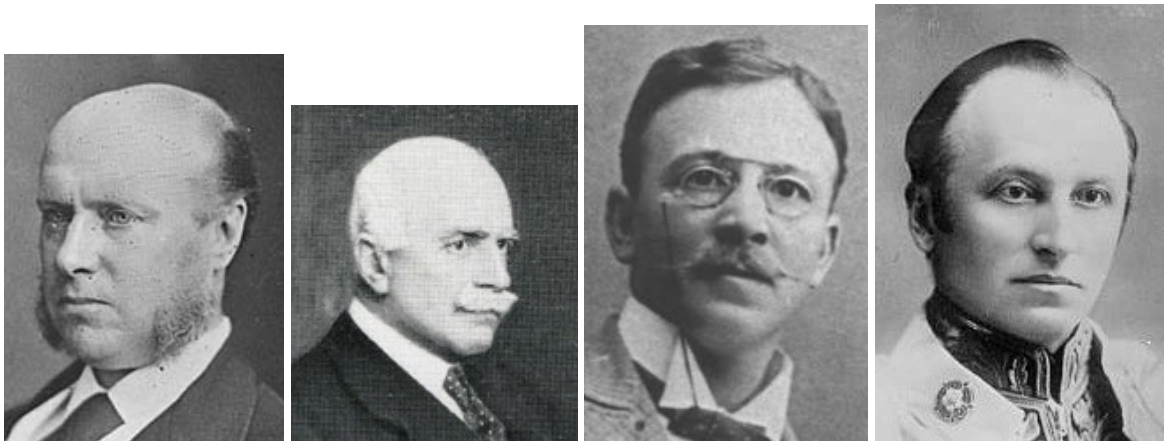


Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883), Lord Alfred Milner, John Ruskin, Sir Henry Birchenough, Sir George Parkin  
MISSING: Arthur Glazebrook and Philip Lyttelton Gell

## Cecil Rhodes' Friends and Acquaintances

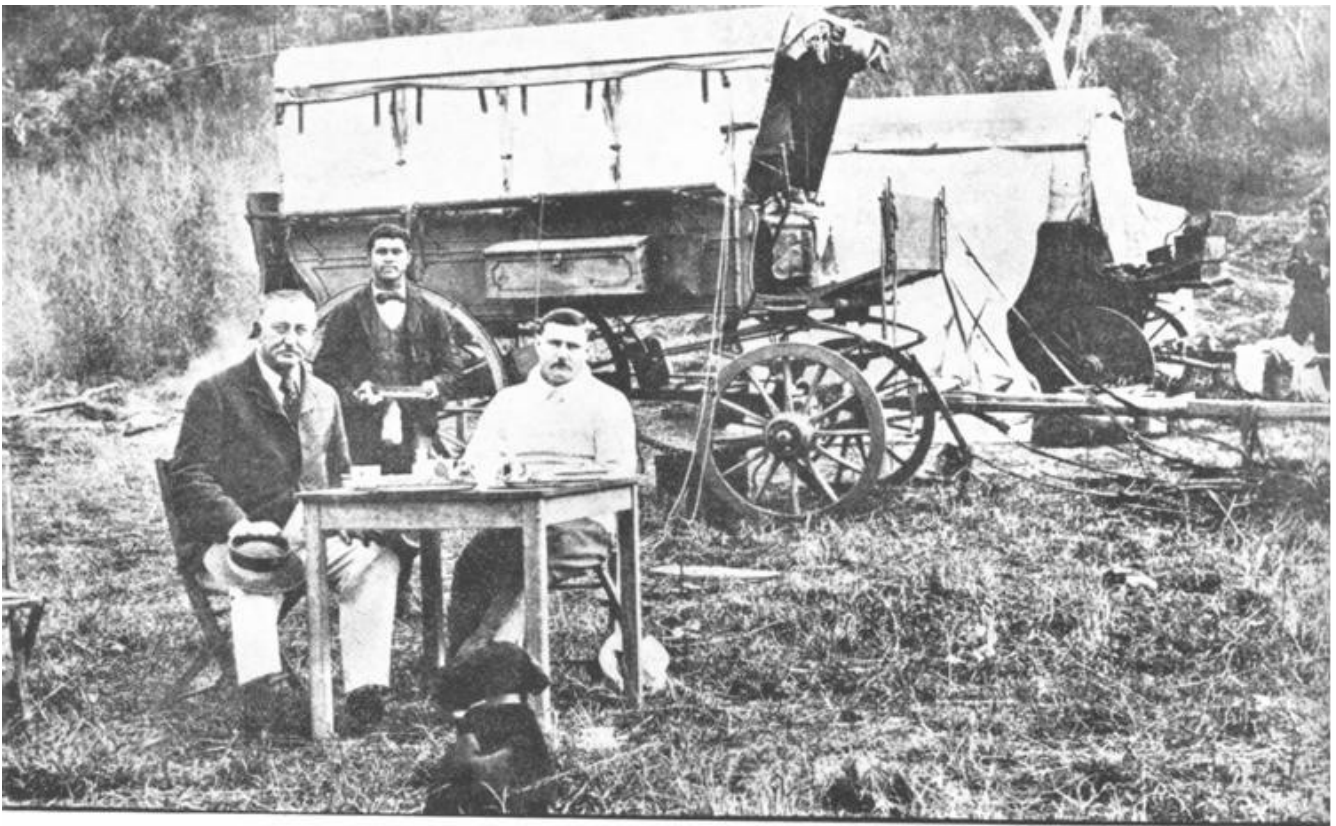


Benjamin Disraeli, Queen Victoria, Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild, King Edward VII, Lord Robert Salisbury



Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Francis Drummond Percy Chaplin, Barney Barnato, Lord George Nathaniel Curzon





RHODES AND GRIMMER ON TREK IN RHODESIA, WITH RHODES'S MAN-SERVANT TONY DE LA CRUZ IN ATTENDANCE



THE FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, 1889.

Top Row: Horace Farquhar, Esq.; Albert Grey, Esq.; Alfred Beit, Esq. Middle Row: His Grace the Duke of Fife, K.T., P.C.; Hon. Cecil J. Rhodes (Founder and Managing Director in South Africa); His Grace the Duke of Abercorn, K.G., P.C. Bottom Row: Lord Grifford, V.C.; Herbert Canning, Esq. (Secretary); George Cawston, Esq.

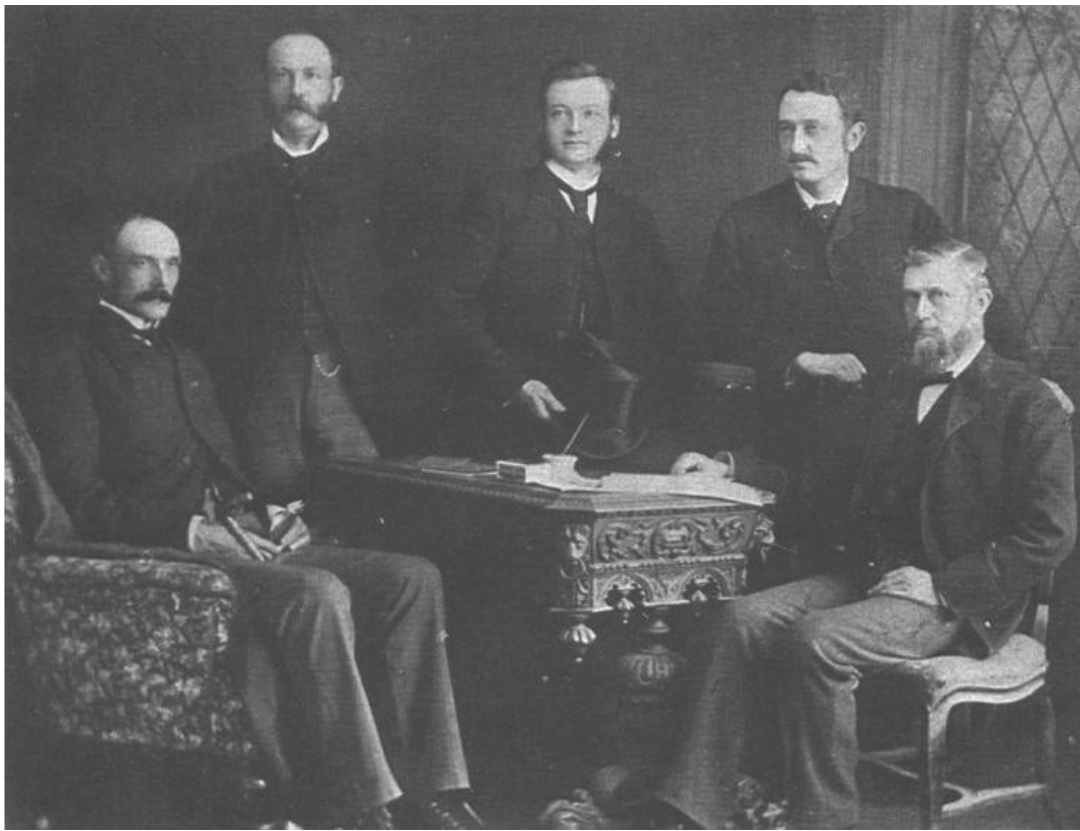




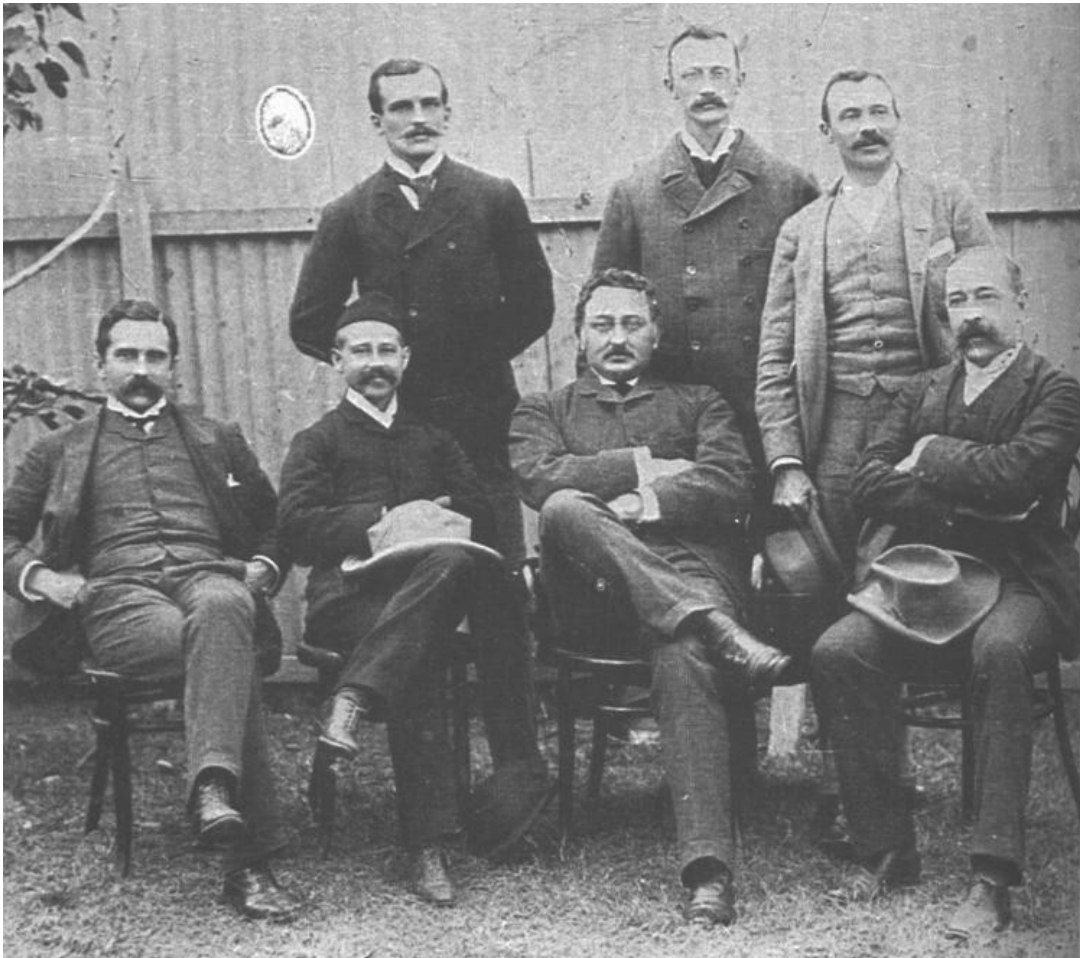
Cecil Rhodes' grave in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia)



Groote Schuur Estate, Cecil Rhodes's home in South Africa (from the slopes of Table Mountain)

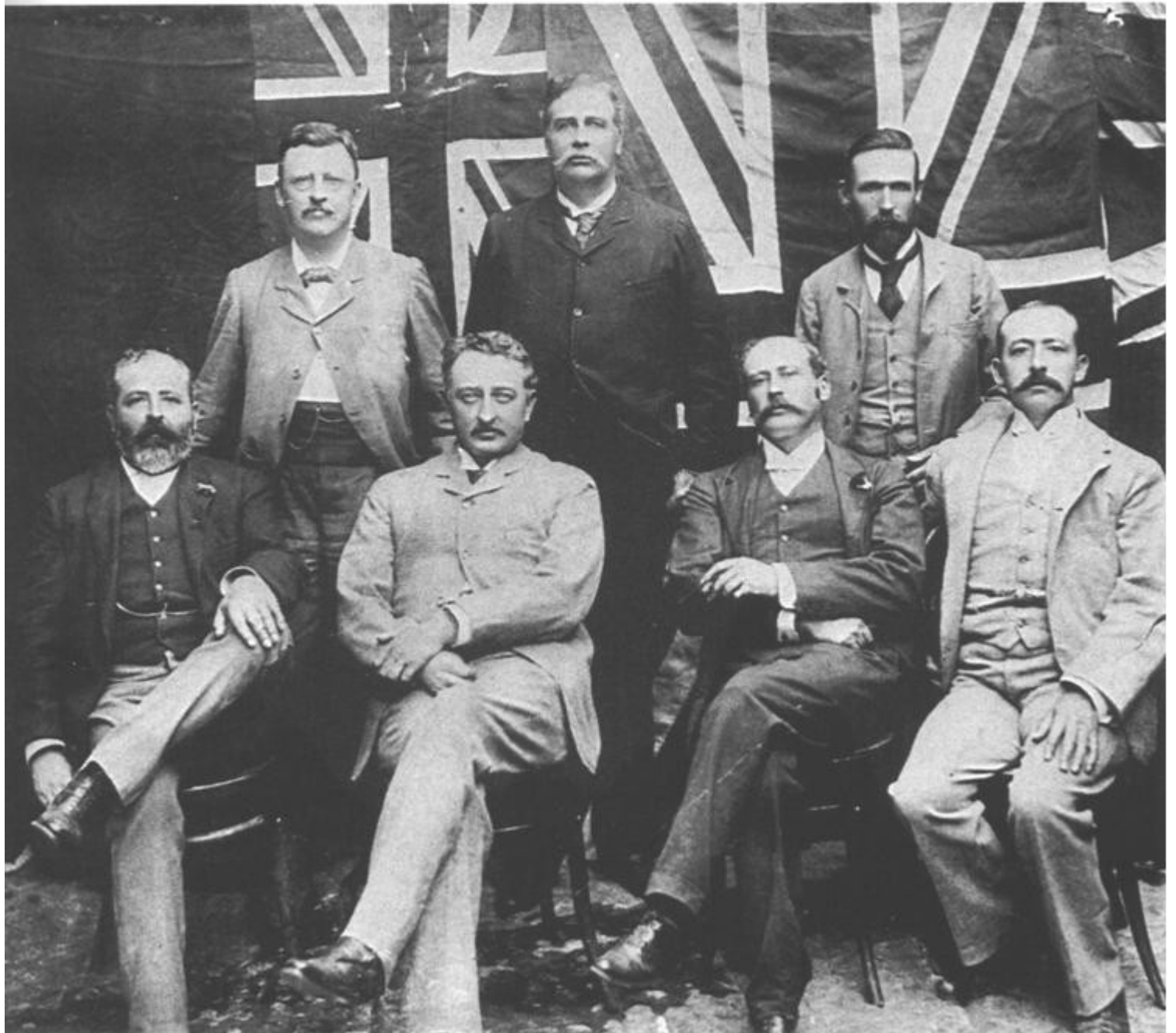


Top Photo: The Scanlen Cabinet, 1884: John Merriman, Jacobus Sauer, James Leonard, Cecil Rhodes, Thomas Scanlen (Sibbett Collection)



Bottom Photo: Planning the conquest of trans-Zambezia, 1890. Sitting: James Rochfort Maguire, Henry Hamilton Johnston, Cecil Rhodes, Archibald R. Colquhoun. Standing: James Grant, John Moir, Joseph Thomson. (Sibbett Collection)

Directors of De Beers, 1893. Top: William H. Craven, Gardner Williams, George W. Compton. Bottom: Charles Edward Nind, Cecil Rhodes, Henry Robinow, David Harris. (*Sibbett Collection*)







In front of the Government House in Salisbury, Rhodesia (c. 1897): Cecil Rhodes, A. Weston Jarvis, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Albert Grey (De Beers archives)



The World's View (1897): Joseph Orford Williams Jerrard, Thomas William Smartt, Rhodes, and (behind Rhodes) Hamilton Hall, an American mining engineer. To the left are two unidentified Africans. (Sibbett Collection)



Robert Coryndon, Cecil Rhodes, and Johnny Grimmer in London in 1897.



Rhodes in Egypt, 1901: Rhodes is in the center and Philip Jourdan is hatless to the extreme right. Second from left is Sir Charles Metcalfe. In front is Leander Starr Jameson. The wall of the first Aswan dam is to the left. (*Sibbett Collection*)





Kimberley Mine, 1875. Workers at the end of a shift. (Gold Fields Collection)

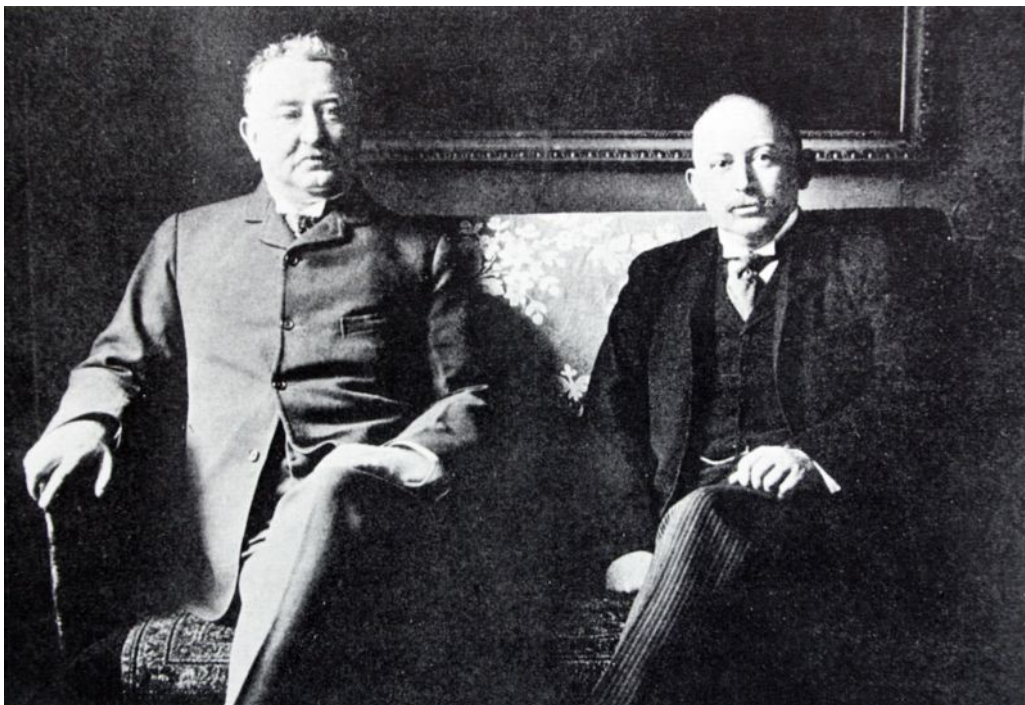


De Beers Mine, 1891. (De Beers archives)

# Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902): Organized Crime?



Directors of De Beers Consolidated Mines in Kimberley, South Africa in 1896.  
Cecil Rhodes is seated at center, and John Morrogh is seated third from right.



British mining magnates Cecil John Rhodes (left) and Alfred Beit were instrumental in launching the Jameson Raid in South Africa.





Cecil Rhodes at the center of a group of political supporters in Kimberley, South Africa in 1898. (Sibbett Collection)



Abe Bailey with fellow directors of Rhodes' Consolidated Gold Field mining company in 1895. Back row from left: John Hays Hammond, unknown servant, George Farrar. Front from left: Alfred Beit, Lionel Phillips, Frank Rhodes (brother of Cecil), and Abe Bailey. This group was to form the core of the Reform Committee, instrumental in the notorious Jameson Raid.





Sir Leander Starr Jameson (second from left) is arrested near Johannesburg by Boer soldiers during the failed Jameson Raid in January 1896. Sir Leander Starr Jameson and his fellow raiders attempted to occupy Johannesburg and overthrow the government of the Transvaal Republic led by President Paul Kruger. Sir Leander Starr Jameson served as the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from February 22, 1904 until February 2, 1908. The failed Jameson Raid (December 29, 1895–January 2, 1896) was an attempted coup d'état against the Transvaal Republic.



Cecil Rhodes makes his presence at the Siege of Kimberley during the Boer War in 1900. (De Beers archives)





British infantry (some of the quarter million troops) were sent to South Africa to crush Boer independence. The Boer War lasted from October 11, 1899 until May 31, 1902. Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain died on January 22, 1901. Cecil Rhodes died in South Africa on March 26, 1902. (TRH Pictures, London)

“This organization [the Milner Group] has been able to conceal its existence quite successfully, and many of its most influential members, satisfied to possess the reality rather than the appearance of power, are unknown even to close students of British history. This is the more surprising when we learn that one of the chief methods by which this Group works has been through propaganda. **It plotted the Jameson Raid of 1895; it caused the Boer War of 1899-1902; it set up and controls the Rhodes Trust; it created the Union of South Africa in 1906-1910;** it established the South African periodical *The State* in 1908; it founded the British Empire periodical *The Round Table* in 1910, and this remains the mouthpiece of the Group; it has been the most powerful single influence in All Souls, Balliol, and New Colleges at Oxford for more than a generation; it has controlled *The Times* for more than fifty years, with the exception of the three years 1919-1922; it publicized the idea of and the name “British Commonwealth of Nations” in the period 1908-1918; it was the chief influence in Lloyd George's war administration in 1917-1919 and dominated the British delegation to the Peace Conference of 1919; it had a great deal to do with the formation and management of the League of Nations and of the system of mandates; it founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1919 and still controls it; it was one of the chief influences on British policy toward Ireland, Palestine, and India in the period 1917-1945; it was a very important influence on the policy of appeasement of Germany during the years 1920-1940; and it controlled and still controls, to a very considerable extent, the sources and the writing of the history of British Imperial and foreign policy since the Boer War. It would be expected that a Group which could number among its achievements such accomplishments as these would be a familiar subject for discussion among students of history and public affairs. In this case, the expectation is not realized, partly because of the deliberate policy of secrecy which this Group has adopted, partly because the Group itself is not closely integrated but rather appears as a series of overlapping circles or rings partly concealed by being hidden behind formally organized groups of no obvious political significance.”

– *The Anglo-American Establishment* by Carroll Quigley, p. 4-5



Boer women and children in a British concentration camp during the Boer war. Photograph taken circa 1901. Over 26,000 Boer women and children and an additional 35,000 native Africans died in the concentration camps during the Boer War.

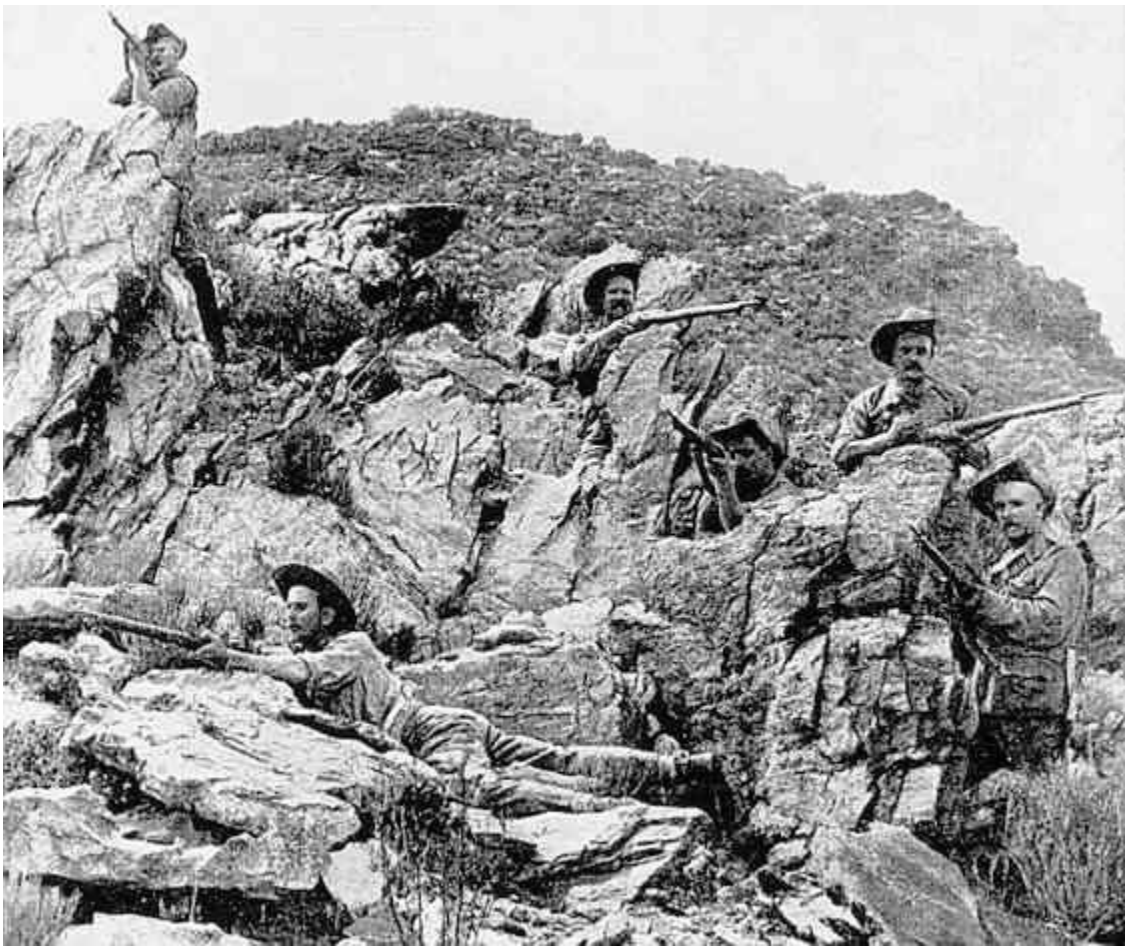
(Photo: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Boercamp1.jpg>)

(Summary: [http://www.bwm.org.au/site/An\\_Australian\\_Perspective.asp](http://www.bwm.org.au/site/An_Australian_Perspective.asp))



One British response to the guerrilla war was a 'scorched earth' policy to deny the guerillas supplies and refuge. In this image Boer civilians watch their house as it is burned. (Photo: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:VerskroeideAardel.jpg>)





British troops attempt to ambush Boer patrols during the Boer War (TRH Pictures, London)



Boer artillerymen operate a howitzer during the Boer War. (Photo: Roger-Viollet)



Boer commandos pose for a group portrait (South African Information Service)



Boer infantryman await the arrival of the British army in South Africa (Olympia-Publifoto)



Boer General Cronje's surrender to the British army (The Bettman Archive)



Jan Christian Smuts (center, later Prime Minister of South Africa) and Boer guerrillas pose for a group portrait during the Second Boer War in circa 1901.





British soldiers lie dead in the fields of Spion Kop in Natal province, South Africa on January 24, 1900 during the Boer War. The Battle of Spion Kop was fought from 23-24 January 1900.



British soldiers pose for a group portrait aboard RMS *Dunottar Castle* in July 1900, after returning from the Boer War. Standing left to right: Sir Byron Leighton, Claud Grenfel, Major Frederick Russell Burnham, Captain Gordon Forbes, Abe Bailey (his son John would marry Diana Churchill in 1932), next two unidentified, Lord John Weston Brooke. Seated left to right: Major Bobby White, Lord Downe, General Sir Henry Edward Colville (a year later Churchill as MP would demand an enquiry over his dismissal from South Africa), Major Harry White, Major Joe Laycock, **Winston Churchill**, Sir Charles Bentinck. Sitting L-R: unidentified, Col. Maurice Gifford. Winston Churchill, later Prime Minister of Great Britain, was a prisoner-of-war during the Boer War and successfully escaped from prison during the Boer War.



Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal Republic (May 9, 1883–September 10, 1900)



Sir Alfred Milner (second from left, seated) and Lord Frederick Roberts (second from right, seated), Commander in Chief of the British Forces in South Africa, with some of their Staff Officers.

“By 1895 the Transvaal Republic presented an acute problem. All political control was in the hands of a rural, backward, Bible-reading, racist minority of Boers, while all economic wealth was in the hands of a violent, aggressive majority of foreigners (Uitlanders), most of whom lived in the new city of Johannesburg. The Uitlanders, who were twice as numerous as the Boers and owned two-thirds of the land and nine-tenths of the wealth of the country, were prevented from participating in political life or from becoming citizens (except after fourteen years' residence) and were irritated by a series of minor pinpricks and extortions such as tax differentials, a dynamite monopoly, and transportation restrictions) and by rumors that the Transvaal president, Paul Kruger, was intriguing to obtain some kind of German intervention and protection. At this point in 1895, Rhodes made his plans to overthrow Kruger's government by an uprising in Johannesburg, financed by himself and Beit, and led by his brother Frank Rhodes, Abe Bailey, and other supporters, followed by an invasion of the Transvaal by a force led by Jameson from Bechuanaland and Rhodesia. Flora Shaw used The Times to prepare public opinion in England, while Albert Grey and others negotiated with Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain for the official support that was necessary. Unfortunately, when the revolt fizzled out in Johannesburg, Jameson raided anyway in an effort to revive it, and was easily captured by the Boers. The public officials involved denounced the plot, loudly proclaimed their surprise at the event, and were able to whitewash most of the participants in the subsequent parliamentary inquiry. A telegram from the German Kaiser to President Kruger of the Transvaal, congratulating him on his success "in preserving the independence of his country without the need to call for aid from his friends," was built up by The Times into an example of brazen German interference in British affairs, and almost eclipsed Jameson's aggression. Rhodes was stopped only temporarily, but he had lost the support of many of the Boers. For almost two years he and his friends stayed quiet, waiting for the storm to blow over. Then they began to act again. Propaganda, most of it true, about the plight of Uitlanders in the Transvaal Republic flooded England and South Africa from Flora Shaw, W. T. Stead, Edmund Garrett, and others; Milner was made high commissioner of South Africa (1897); Brett worked his way into the confidence of the monarchy to become its chief political adviser during a period of more than twenty-five years (he wrote almost daily letters of advice to King Edward during his reign, 1901-1910). By a process whose details are still obscure, a brilliant, young graduate of Cambridge, Jan Smuts, who had been a vigorous supporter of Rhodes and acted as his agent in Kimberley as late as 1895 and who was one of the most important members of the Rhodes-Milner group in the period 1908-1950, went to the Transvaal and, by violent anti-British agitation, became state secretary of that country (although a British subject) and chief political adviser to President Kruger; Milner made provocative troop movements on the Boer frontiers in spite of the vigorous protests of his commanding general in South Africa, who had to be removed; and, finally, war was precipitated when Smuts drew up an ultimatum insisting that the British troop movements cease and when this was rejected by Milner. **The Boer War (1899-1902) was one of the most important events in British imperial history. The ability of 40,000 Boer farmers to hold off ten times as many British for three years, inflicting a series of defeats on them over that period, destroyed faith in British power.** Although the Boer republics were defeated and annexed in 1902, Britain's confidence was so shaken that it made a treaty with Japan in the same year providing that if either signer became engaged in war with two enemies in the Far East the other signer would come to the rescue. This treaty, which allowed Japan to attack Russia in 1904, lasted for twenty years, being extended to the Middle East in 1912. At the same time Germany's obvious sympathy with the Boers, combined with the German naval construction program of 1900, alienated the British people from the Germans and contributed greatly toward the Anglo-French entente of 1904. **Milner took over the two defeated Boer republics and administered them as occupied territory until 1905, using a civil service of young men recruited for the purpose. This group, known as “Milner's Kindergarten,” reorganized the government and administration of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony and played a major role in South African life generally. When Milner left public life in 1905 to devote himself to international finance and the Rhodes enterprises, Lord Selborne, his successor as high commissioner, took over the Kindergarten and continued to use it. In 1906 a new Liberal government in London granted self-government to the two Boer states. The Kindergarten spent the next four years in a successful effort to create a South African Federation.** The task was not an easy one, even with such powerful backing as Selborne, Smuts (who was now the dominant political figure in the Transvaal, although Botha held the position of prime minister), and Jameson (who was the prime minister of the Cape Colony in 1904-1908). The subject was broached through a prearranged public interchange of letters between Jameson and Selborne. Then Selborne published a memorandum, written by Philip Kerr (Lothian) and Lionel Curtis, calling for a union of the four colonies. Kerr founded a periodical (The State, financed by Sir Abe Bailey) which advocated federation in every issue; Curtis and others scurried about organizing "Closer Union" societies; Robert H. (Lord) Brand and (Sir) Patrick Duncan laid the groundwork for the new constitution. At the Durban constitutional convention (where Duncan and B. K. Long were legal advisers) the Transvaal delegation was controlled by Smuts and the Kindergarten. This delegation, which was heavily financed, tightly organized, and knew exactly what it wanted, dominated the convention, wrote the constitution for the Union of South Africa, and succeeded in having it ratified (1910). Local animosities were compromised in a series of ingenious arrangements, including one by which the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the new government were placed in three different cities. The Rhodes-Milner group recognized that Boer nationalism and color intolerance were threats to the future stability and loyalty of South Africa, but they had faith in the political influence of Smuts and Botha, of Rhodes's allies, and of the four members of the Kindergarten who stayed in South Africa to hold off these problems until time could moderate the irreconcilable Boers. In this they were mistaken, because, as men like Jameson (1917), Botha (1919), Duncan (1943), Long (1943), and Smuts (1950) died off, they were not replaced by men of equal loyalty and ability, with the result that the Boer extremists under D. F. Malan came to power in 1948. The first Cabinet of the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 by the South African Party, which was largely Boer, with



Louis Botha as prime minister. The real master of the government was Smuts, who held three out of nine portfolios, all important ones, and completely dominated Botha. Their policy of reconciliation with the English and of loyal support for the British connection was violently opposed by the Boer Nationalists within the party led by J. B. M. Hertzog. **Hertzog was eager to get independence from Britain and to reserve political control in a South African republic to Boers only. He obtained growing support by agitating on the language and educational issues, insisting that all government officials must speak Afrikaans and that it be a compulsory language in schools, with English a voluntary, second language.** The opposition party, known as Unionist, was largely English and was led by Jameson supported by Duncan, Richard Feetham, Hugh Wyndham, and Long. Financed by Milner's allies and the Rhodes Trust, its leaders considered that their chief task was "to support the prime minister against the extremists of his own party." Long, as the best speaker, was ordered to attack Hertzog constantly. When Hertzog struck back with too violent language in 1912, he was dropped from the Cabinet and soon seceded from the South African Party, joining with the irreconcilable Boer republicans like Christiaan De Wet to form the Nationalist Party. The new party adopted an extremist anti-English and anti-native platform. Jameson's party, under his successor, Sir Thomas Smartt (a paid agent of the Rhodes organization), had dissident elements because of the growth of white labor unions which insisted on anti-native legislation. By 1914 these formed a separate Labour Party under F. H. P. Creswell, and were able to win from Smuts a law excluding natives from most semiskilled or skilled work or any high-paying positions (1911). The natives were compelled to work for wages, however low, by the need to obtain cash for taxes and by the inadequacy of the native reserves to support them from their own agricultural activities. By the Land Act of 1913 about 7 percent of the land area was reserved for future land purchases by natives and the other 93 percent for purchase by whites. At that time the native population exceeded the whites by at least fourfold. As a result of such discriminations, the wages of natives were about one-tenth those of whites. This discrepancy in remuneration permitted white workers to earn salaries comparable to those earned in North America, although national income was low and productivity per capita was very low (about \$125 per year). The Botha-Smuts government of 1910-1924 did little to cope with the almost insoluble problems which faced South Africa. As it became weaker, and the Hertzog Nationalists grew stronger, it had to rely with increasing frequency on the support of the Unionist party. In 1920 a coalition was formed, and three members of the Unionist party, including Duncan, took seats in Smuts's Cabinet. In the next election in 1924 Creswell's Labourites and Hertzog's Nationalists formed an agreement which dropped the republican-imperial issue and emphasized the importance of economic and native questions. This alliance defeated Smuts's party and formed a Cabinet which held office for nine years. It was replaced in March 1933 by a Smuts-Hertzog coalition formed to deal with the economic crisis arising from the world depression of 1929-1935. The defeat of the Smuts group in 1924 resulted from four factors, besides his own imperious personality. These were (1) his violence toward labor unions and strikers; (2) his strong support for the imperial connection, especially during the war of 1914-1918; (3) his refusal to show any enthusiasm for an anti-native program, and (4) the economic hardships of the postwar depression and the droughts of 1919-1923. A miners' strike in 1913 was followed by a general strike in 1914; in both, Smuts used martial law and machine-gun bullets against the strikers and in the latter case illegally deported nine union leaders to England. This problem had hardly subsided before the government entered the war against Germany and actively participated in the conquest of German Africa as well as in the fighting in France. Opposition from Boer extremists to this evidence of the English connection was so violent that it resulted in open revolt against the government and mutiny by various military contingents which sought to join the small German forces in Southwest Africa. The rebels were crushed, and thousands of their supporters lost their political rights for ten years. Botha and, even more, Smuts played major roles in the Imperial War Cabinet in London and at the Peace Conference of 1919. The former died as soon as he returned home, leaving Smuts, as prime minister, to face the acute postwar problems. The economic collapse of 1920-1923 was especially heavy in South Africa as the ostrich-feather and diamond markets were wiped out, the gold and export markets were badly injured, and years of drought were prevalent. Efforts to reduce costs in the mines by increased use of native labor led to strikes and eventually to a revolution on the Rand (1922). Over 200 rebels were killed. As a result, the popularity of Smuts in his own country reached a low ebb just at the time when he was being praised almost daily in England as one of the world's greatest men. These political shifts in South Africa's domestic affairs did little to relieve any of the acute economic and social problems which faced that country. On the contrary these grew worse year by year. In 1921 the Union had only 1.5 million whites, 4.7 million natives, 545 thousand mulattoes ("coloured"), and 166 thousand Indians. By 1936 the whites had increased by only half a million, while the number of natives had gone up almost two million. **These natives lived on inadequate and eroded reserves or in horrible urban slums, and were drastically restricted in movements, residence, or economic opportunities, and had almost no political or even civil rights. By 1950 most of the native workers of Johannesburg lived in a distant suburb where 90,000 Africans were crowded onto 600 acres of shacks with no sanitation, with almost no running water, and with such inadequate bus service that they had to stand in line for hours to get a bus into the city to work. In this way the natives were steadily "detribalized," abandoning allegiance to their own customs and beliefs (including religion) without assuming the customs or beliefs of the whites. Indeed, they were generally excluded from this because of the obstacles placed in their path to education or property ownership. The result was that the natives were steadily ground downward to the point where they were denied all opportunity except for animal survival and reproduction. Almost half of the whites and many of the blacks were farmers, but agricultural practices were so deplorable that water shortages and erosion grew with frightening rapidity, and rivers which had flowed steadily in 1880 largely disappeared by 1950. As lands became too dry to farm, they were turned to grazing, especially under the spur of high wool prices during the two great wars, but the soil continued to drift away as dust. Because of low standards of living for the blacks, there was little**

**domestic market either for farm products or for industrial goods. As a result, most products of both black and white labor were exported, the receipts being used to pay for goods which were locally unavailable or for luxuries for whites. But most of the export trade was precarious. The gold mines and diamond mines had to dig so deeply (below 7,000-foot levels) that costs arose sharply, while the demand for both products fluctuated widely, since neither was a necessity of life.** Nonetheless, each year over half of the Union's annual production of all goods was exported, with about one-third of the total represented by gold. The basic problem was lack of labor, not so much the lack of hands but the low level of productivity of those hands. This in turn resulted from lack of capitalization and from the color bar which refused to allow native labor to become skilled. Moreover, the cheapness of unskilled labor, especially on the farms, meant that most work was left to blacks, and many whites fell into lazy habits. Unskilled whites, unwilling and unable to compete as labor with the blacks, became indolent "poor whites." Milner's Kindergarten had, at the end of the Boer War, the sum of £3 million provided by the peace treaty to be used to restore Boer families from concentration camps to their farms. They were shocked to discover that one-tenth of the Boers were "poor whites," had no land and wanted none. The Kindergarten decided that this sad condition resulted from the competition of cheap black labor, a conclusion which was incorporated into the report of a commission established by Selborne to study the problem."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Part 4, Chapter 9 (The British Imperial Crisis: Africa, Ireland, and India to 1926)

"Ruskin's message had a sensational impact. His inaugural lecture was copied out in longhand by one undergraduate, Cecil Rhodes, who kept it with him for thirty years. **Rhodes (1853-1902) feverishly exploited the diamond and goldfields of South Africa, rose to be prime minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896), contributed money to political parties, controlled parliamentary seats both in England and in South Africa, and sought to win a strip of British territory across Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt and to join these two extremes together with a telegraph line and ultimately with a Cape-to-Cairo Railway.** Rhodes inspired devoted support for his goals from others in South Africa and in England. **With financial support from Lord Rothschild and Alfred Beit, he was able to monopolize the diamond mines of South Africa as De Beers Consolidated Mines and to build up a great gold mining enterprise as Consolidated Gold Fields. In the middle 1890's Rhodes had a personal income of at least a million pounds sterling a year (then about five million dollars) which was spent so freely for his mysterious purposes that he was usually overdrawn on his account. These purposes centered on his desire to federate the English-speaking peoples and to bring all the habitable portions of the world under their control. For this purpose Rhodes left part of his great fortune to found the Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford in order to spread the English ruling class tradition throughout the English-speaking world as Ruskin had wanted."**

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Part 4, Chapter 9 (The British Imperial Crisis: Africa, Ireland, and India to 1926)

# The Astor Family & The Cliveden Set



Cliveden House and Estate in Buckinghamshire, England, former home of the Astor family



Left to right: George Roosevelt, society millionaire Vincent Astor, New York Governor and Democratic Party presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, and former Democratic Party national chairman John J. Raskob appear at the Governor's luncheon at the executive mansion in Albany, New York on August 4, 1932. George Roosevelt was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Bettmann/CORBIS)





Amy Johnson (second from left) stands arm in arm with American actor Charlie Chaplin while Lady Astor, George Bernard Shaw (petting a greyhound dog), and Lord Astor (holding a hat) stand together in London in 1931. (Image: © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



Roosevelts and Astors pose for a photograph after church service at Hyde Park, New York, U.S.A. on November 20, 1932. Left to right: Lord Astor, Lady Astor, Reverend Frank Wilson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, and an assistant are pictured outside the St. James Episcopal Church in Hyde Park, New York, U.S.A on the morning of November 20, 1932, after they had attended church services. Lord and Lady Astor, the latter an American-born British Member of Parliament, are weekend guests at the Hyde Park home of the President-elect and his wife. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)

*Winston Churchill and his wife Clemmie with Nancy Astor as they toured the blitzed areas of Plymouth on 2 May 1941. After the tour, Churchill said of the people of Plymouth: 'Their houses may be low but their hearts are high.'*

and Clemmie was determined to accompany Winston and no one else. Therefore, when Winston read Nancy's proposed programme he shook his head and said 'Impossible'. Nancy insisted that it was too late to alter the schedule whereupon Churchill strode to the window and gazed at the sea. Then he turned back to the room gravely (no doubt mindful of Clemmie's intractability): 'In time of war the supreme decisions must rest with the Prime Minister and with him alone. . . . Mrs Churchill will



(Source: *The Astors* by Virginia Cowles)





*Nancy Astor and G.B. Shaw on their trip to Russia, photographed with a group of intellectuals in Leningrad. As a long-standing critic of the Russian system, she provoked world-wide censure when she returned home and refused to contradict Shaw's lyrical descriptions of the Soviet Union despite the fact that millions had died in Stalin's purges.*

trip to Russia would involve them in world-wide publicity, they were very much in favour of it.

At that time Shaw was greatly admired in Russia as a man violently opposed to democracy and universal suffrage, so the red carpet was ready for him. Indeed, he was able to announce quite casually that he was bringing a few travelling companions with him. The party consisted of Nancy and Waldorf Astor, their son David, Philip Kerr who was now Lord Lothian, and a Christian Science friend, Charles Tennant. At Warsaw the travellers were joined by Maxim Litvinoff and Maurice Hindus, an American of Russian origin who was a passionate admirer of the USSR.

The world press was deeply disappointed in the visit. The trip was a three-ring circus from which they hoped to get columns of amusing copy. Instead the Russians' propagandists took strict control of the party and discouraged interviews. The visitors were shepherded about, and taken on the usual round of schools, factories, juvenile prisons; on the usual tour of Leningrad, ballet, opera, museums; on the usual sorties to



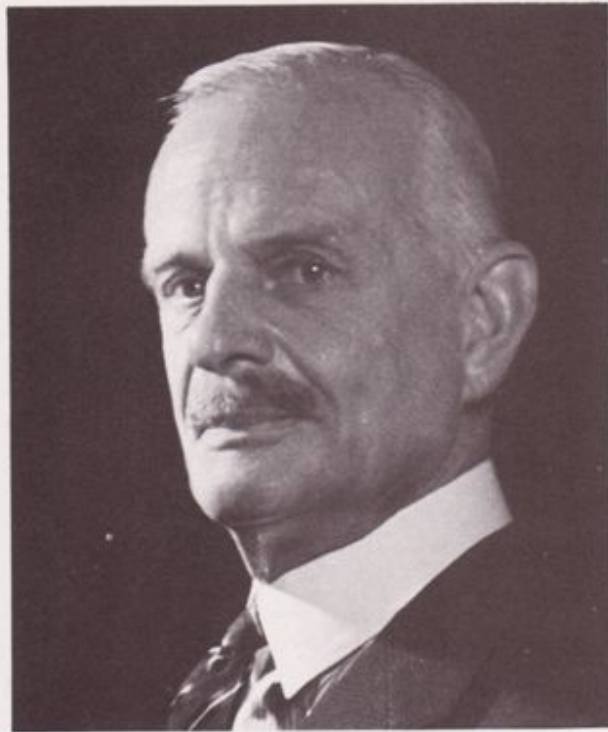


56. Lady Nancy Astor, right, and her son William Waldorf entertain the Henry Fords at Cliveden. Several Morgan partners sympathized with the Appeasement sentiments of the Cliveden set.

Lady Nancy Astor (right) and her son William Waldorf (second from right) entertain Henry Ford and his wife at Cliveden.  
(Photo: *The House of Morgan* by Ron Chernow)



Waldorf Astor, the Second Viscount and husband of Nancy. He believed his political career was ruined by his peerage but encouraged his wife to become the first woman to take her seat in Parliament.

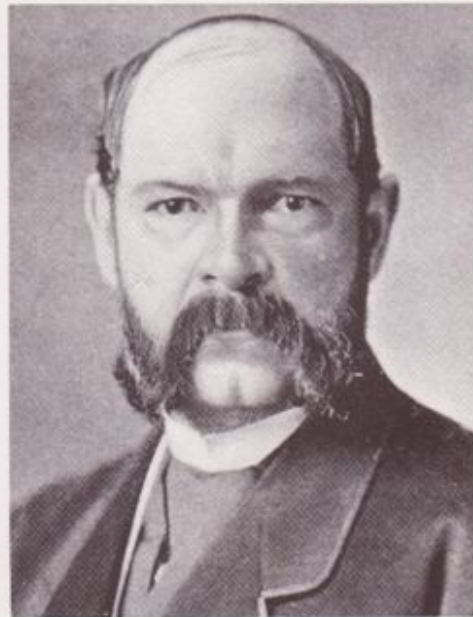


John Jacob Astor V, second son of William Waldorf. As the owner of *The Times*, he became a peer in his own right.

(Source: *Dynasty: The Astors and Their Times* by David Sinclair)



John Jacob Astor III, the first head of the family who never had to work for his living. Haughty and imperious, he was powerful enough to remain untouched by his involvement in the Tweed corruption scandal.



William Backhouse Astor Jr, younger brother of John Jacob III. More interested in women and yachting than in business, William remained in the background as his wife, Caroline, dominated New York society.

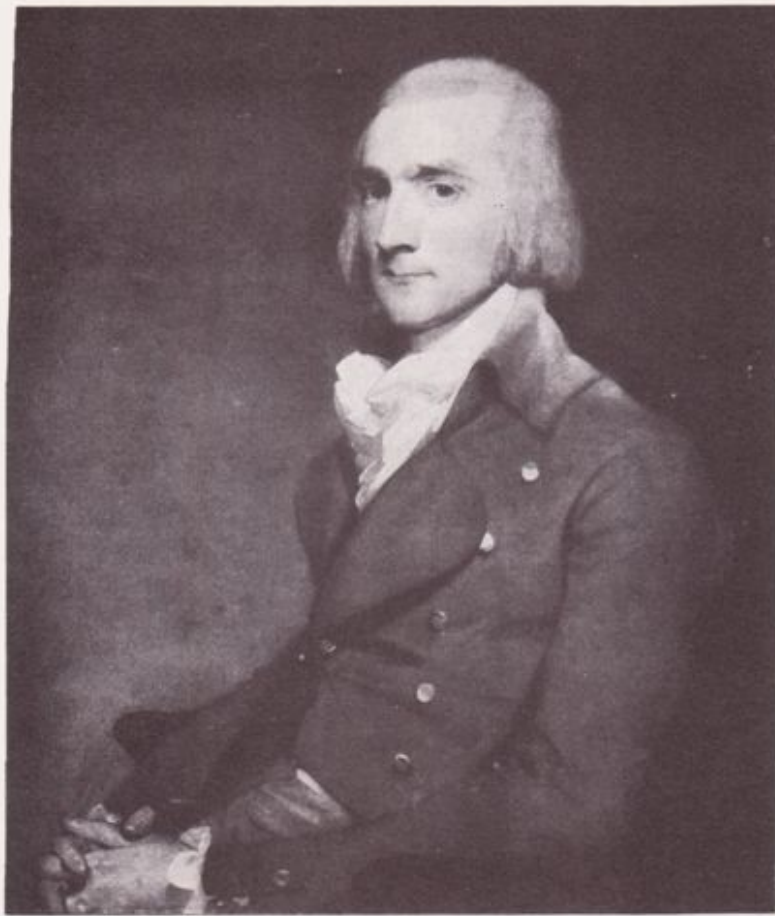




William Backhouse Astor, known as 'the Landlord of New York'. Through careful management of his real estate holdings, he doubled the Astor fortune.



Hub of the empire: the Astor Estate Office on Prince Street, between Broadway and Mercer Street, from which first John Jacob and later William managed their real estate.



John Jacob Astor, the German butcher's son who became the richest man in America. Engraving after a portrait by Gilbert Stuart.



John Jacob in later life — a cartoon published by the London *Spectator* to accompany Astor's obituary in 1848.

(Source: *Dynasty: The Astors and Their Times* by David Sinclair)





**Viscount William Waldorf Astor**, who died Oct. 18, 1919, gave \$46,000,000 to his two sons two months before. On this they paid \$10,800,000 taxes in 1922 to the Treasury which claimed the transfer had been made in anticipation of death. When they lately sought to recover this, plus nearly \$10,000,000 interest, a Federal Jury decided against them.

William Waldorf Astor, founder of the family's English branch. Disgusted by America's 'vulgarity', he moved to London and eventually became a peer.

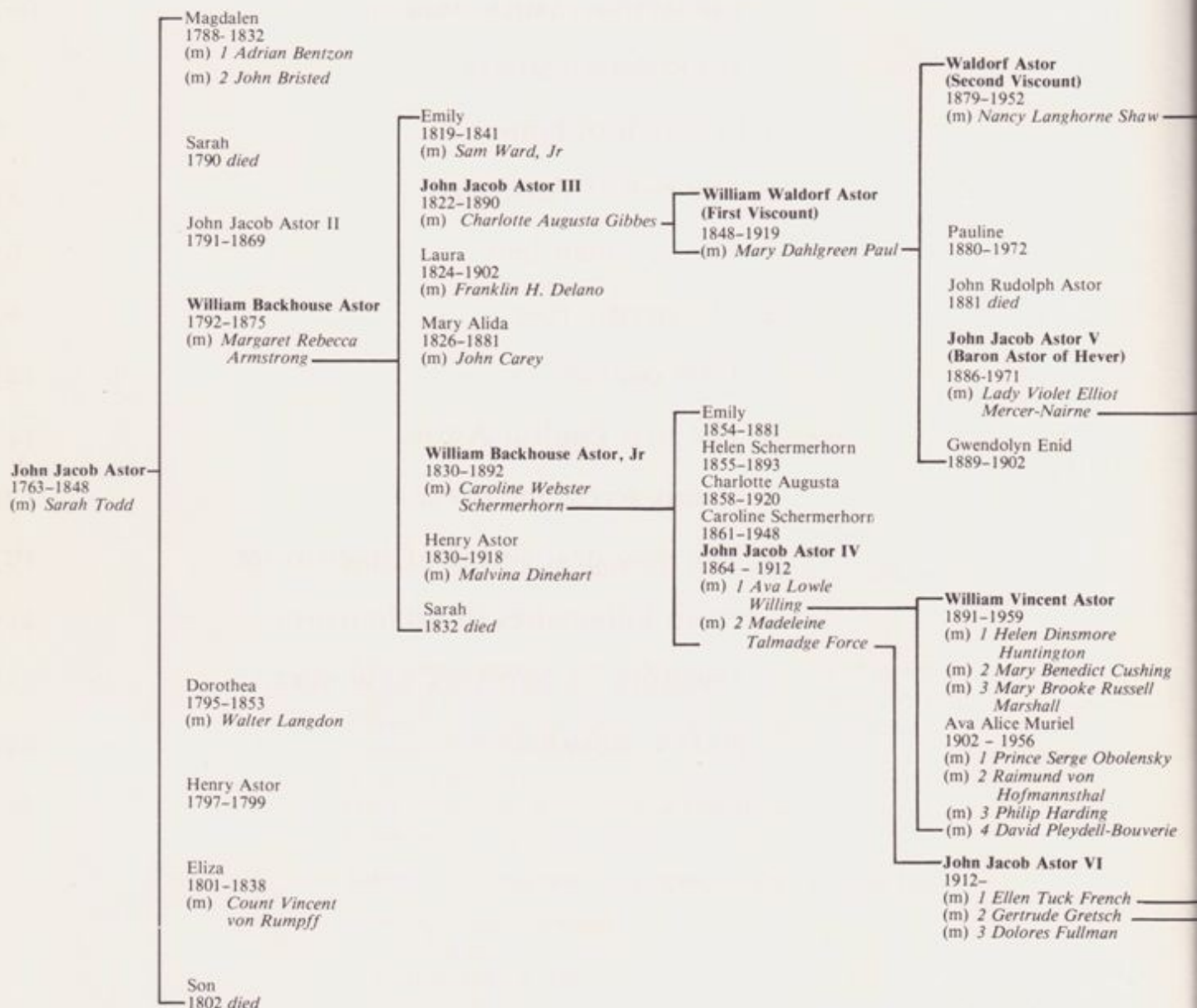




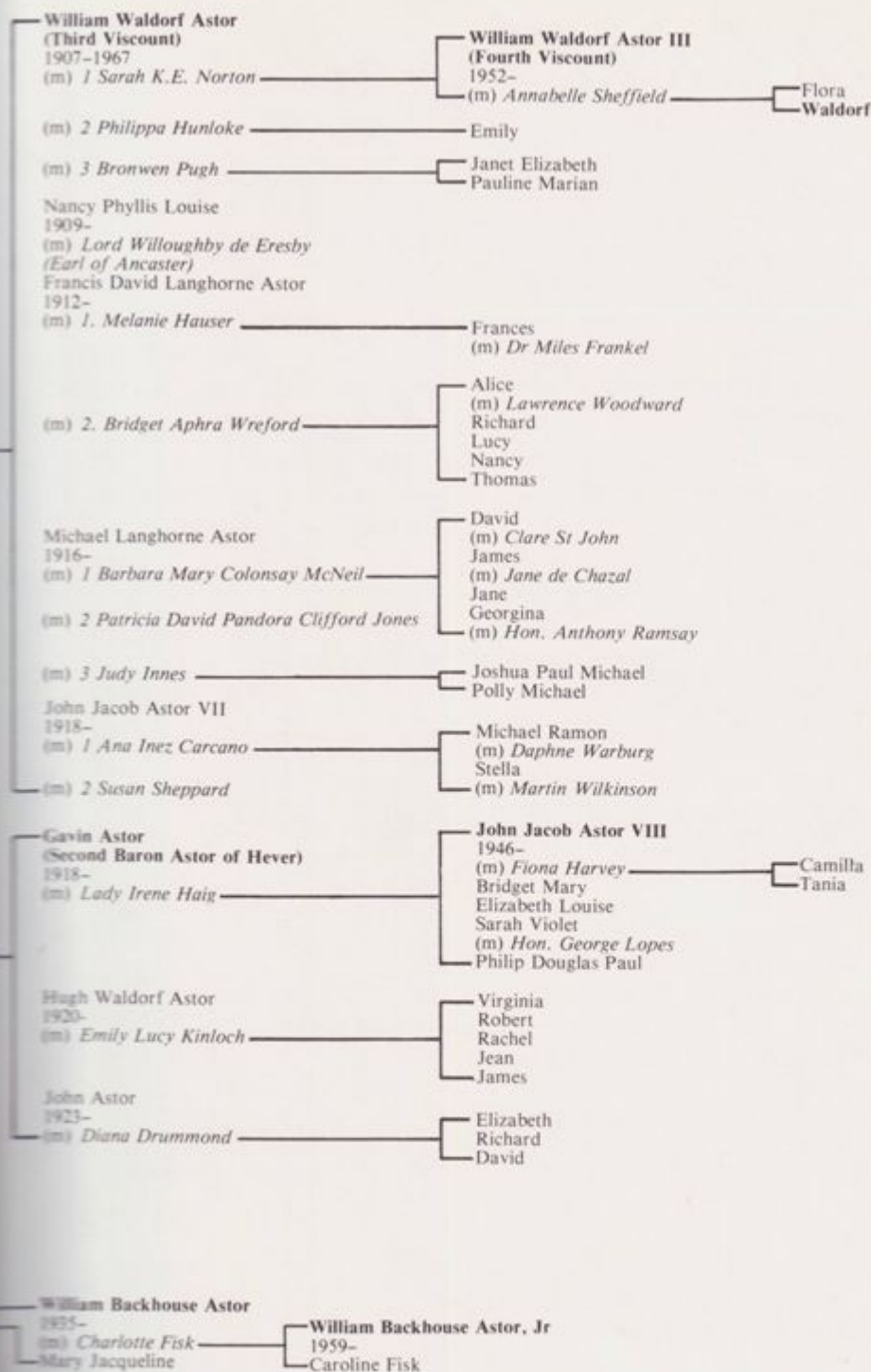
Caroline Astor, the queen of New York society in the 1880s and 1890s. Under this portrait by Carolus Duran, Caroline would stand to receive guests arriving for her grand balls.

(Source: *Dynasty: The Astors and Their Times* by David Sinclair)

# The Astor family



(Source: *The Astors* by Virginia Cowles)



This family tree does not list the progeny of female Astors by birth. Male Astors in the direct line of descent who figure prominently in the book are indicated in bold type.





Cliveden House and Estate in Buckinghamshire, England, former home of the Astor family



OmniCoin.com World Coin Community

British East India Company coin produced in 1808

# The Anglo-American Alliance



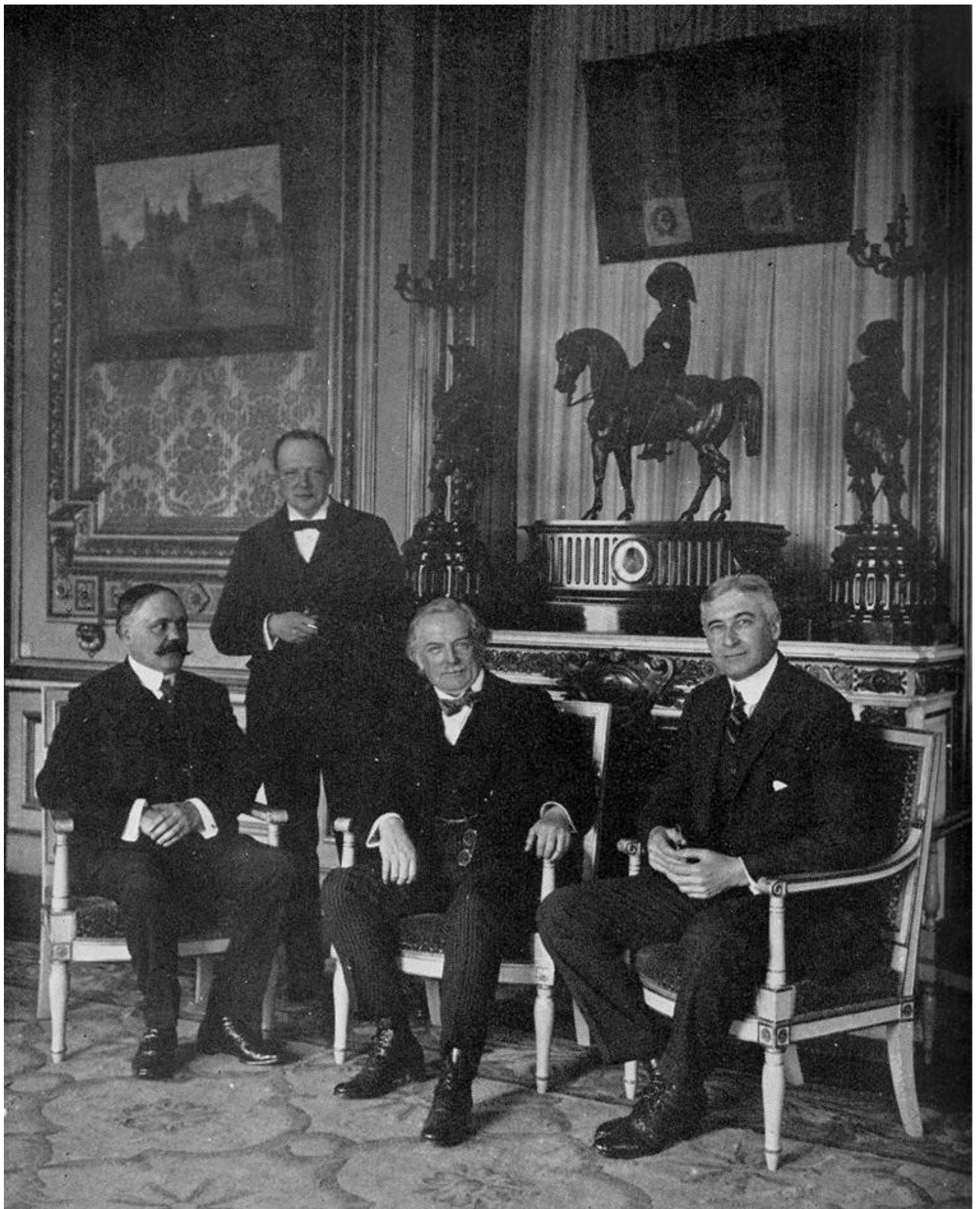
*Morgan (second from right on the stairs) with distinguished guests at Nuneham Park, 1907. King Edward VII sits in the center.*

J.P. Morgan and King Edward VII attend a house party at the Harcourts' Nuneham Park estate in 1907.



J.P. "Jack" Morgan Jr. advises King George VI (left) at an embassy tea garden party in Washington D.C. in June 1939. J.P. "Jack" Morgan Jr.'s father was J.P. Morgan. (Photo: *The House of Morgan* by Ron Chernow)





American Jewish financier Bernard Baruch (far right) appears with (from left to right) Louis Loucheur (French diplomat), Member of Parliament Winston Churchill (standing), and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. David Lloyd George was the Prime Minister of Great Britain from December 7, 1916 to October 22, 1922.





British Prime Minister Gordon Brown (L) answers a question from former U.S. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin (R) at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on November 14, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan is given his honorary knighthood from Britain's Queen Elizabeth II (left) with his wife Andrea Mitchell at his side at Balmoral castle in the Scottish Highlands on Thursday, September 26, 2002. Both Alan Greenspan and Andrea Mitchell are members of the Council on Foreign Relations; Greenspan and Mitchell attended the 2002 Bilderberg Meetings together. (AP Photo/ David Cheskin)



Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan (center) and Mervyn King (right), Governor of The Bank of England, pose with Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown after collecting their honorary doctorate degrees in the presence of The Duke of Edinburgh on February 7, 2005 in Edinburgh, Scotland. Greenspan, King, and Brown have attended the Bilderberg Meetings in the past. (Photo by Christopher Furlong/Getty Images)



Britain's Prime Minister Gordon Brown (left) greets Federal Reserve Bank Chairman Ben Bernanke at 10 Downing Street in London on January 13, 2009. ([Reuters](#))





Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (center) talks to James Dimon (left), Chairman and CEO of JP Morgan Chase, and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (right) at the end of the opening press conference by the co-chairs of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2008 in Davos, Switzerland on January 23, 2008. Henry Kissinger and James Dimon are members of the Council on Foreign Relations and members of the Trilateral Commission. (AFP/Getty Images)



Rupert Murdoch, News Corporation Chairman and CEO, speaks with British Prime Minister Gordon Brown (left) in London on June 15, 2007. The two met at Rupert Murdoch's annual Summer Party which was held at the Serpentine Gallery in London's Hyde Park. (Photo by Tom Stoddart/Getty Images)





An Anglo-American meeting takes place aboard USS Williamsburg in January 1952. Seated from left to right: British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden, Winston Churchill, President Harry Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Treasury Secretary John W. Snyder, and Defense Secretary Robert Lovett. Standing from left to right: Ambassador to Great Britain Walter Gifford, Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Sir Oliver Franks, Lord Cherwell, Lord Ismay, and Averell Harriman. Acheson, Gifford, Lovett, and Harriman were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library)



David Rockefeller (left) chats with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as she greets Joshua Lederberg (second from right).



Dulles confers with Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Eden at 10 Downing Street, September 17, 1954.

U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles shakes hands with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.



British Prime Minister Harold Wilson (left) and U.S. President Lyndon Johnson take time out from their talks on the Vietnam War to pose for pictures in Johnson's office at the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on February 8, 1968. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Former British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden (1897-1977), the Earl of Avon, visits American President Lyndon Baines Johnson at the White House in Washington, D.C. on March 8, 1968. Sir Anthony Eden was the Prime Minister of Great Britain from April 7, 1955 to January 10, 1957. Sir Anthony Eden was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on three separate occasions: December 22, 1935-February 20, 1938, December 22, 1940-July 26, 1945, October 28, 1951-April 7, 1955. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)





Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates poses for a photograph with Prime Minister Tony Blair (left) at Blair's residence in London, England on January 14, 2007. (U.S. Department of Defense photo by Cherie A. Thurlby)



British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and former U.S. President Bill Clinton sit down for the first working session of the Progressive Governance Summit in Hertfordshire, England on April 5, 2008. (Getty Images)



Left to right: U.S. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Sir Evelyn de Rothschild, former President Bill Clinton, and Lady Lynn Forester de Rothschild attend Lady Lynn Forester de Rothschild's party at the Orangery Kensington Palace in London, Great Britain on July 3, 2003 to celebrate the publication of U.S. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton's autobiography *Living History*.  
(Photo: <http://www.life.com/image/81866415>)



Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Lynn Forester de Rothschild in London on July 3, 2003.





British Prime Minister Gordon Brown (left) and Democratic Party presidential candidate Senator Barack Obama smile for the camera while meeting in the garden of Number 10 Downing Street in London on July 26, 2008. (Getty Images)



U.S. President Barack Obama (L) and his wife Michelle (2nd R) pose for a photograph with Britain's Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, at Buckingham Palace in London on April 1, 2009, before President Obama's participation in the G20 Summit meeting in London. (Reuters)





British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III chat with President George H.W. Bush at the NATO Summit in London in July 1991. This photo appears in *The Politics of Diplomacy* by James A. Baker III. (AP/Wide World)



U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (L) exchanges a kiss with Britain's former Prime Minister Tony Blair following her key-note speech at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland on January 23, 2008. (Reuters)

“This is **collective action**, people working together at their best. I think the **new world order** is emerging, and with it the foundations of a new and progressive era of international cooperation. We have resolved that from today we will together manage the process of globalization, to secure responsibility from all and fairness to all. And we have agreed that in doing so, we will build a more sustainable and more open and a fairer global society.”

– Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of Great Britain, at the 2009 G20 Summit in London on April 2, 2009